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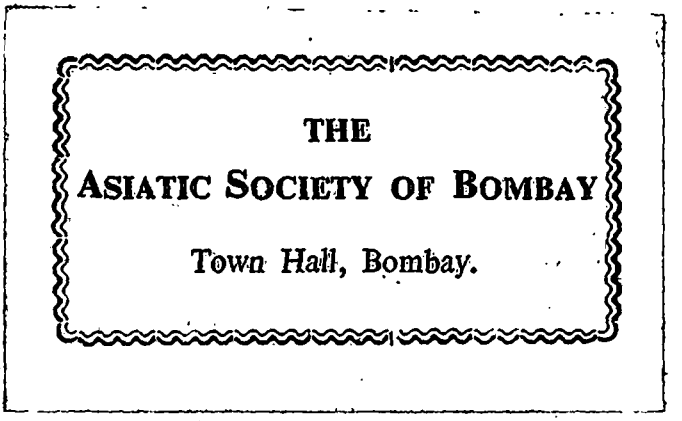

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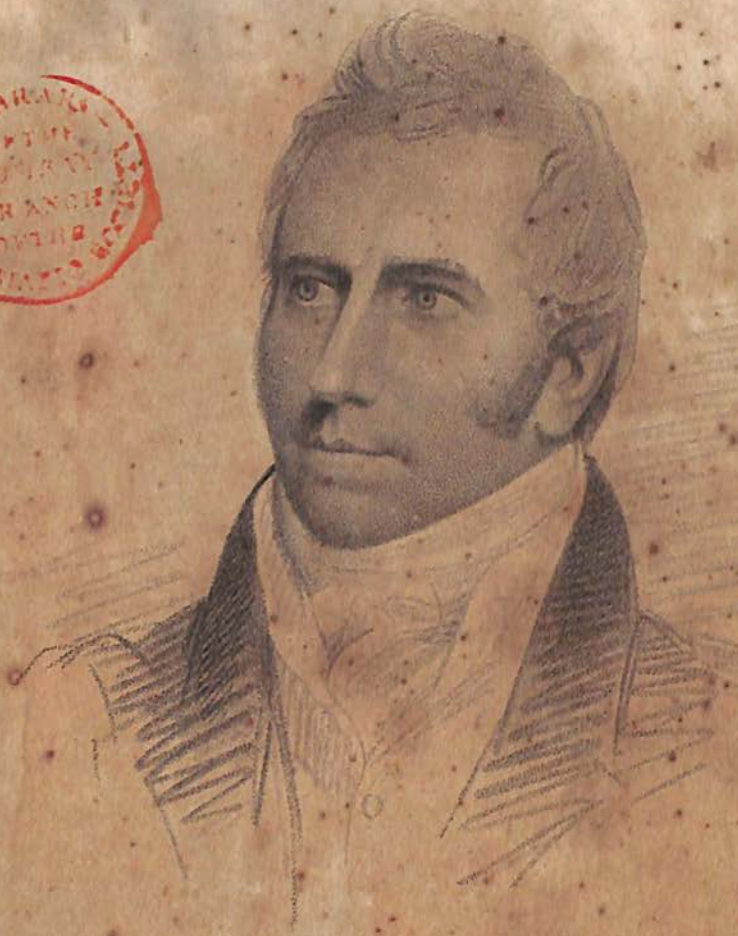

The Right Honorable

LORD AMHERST, &c. &c.

Ambassador Extraordinary

to the

EMPEROR of CHINA.

Library Society of Bombay

JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LATE EMBASSY TO CHINA;

COMPRISING

A CORRECT NARRATIVE OF THE PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS OF THE EMBASSY,

OF THE VOYAGE TO AND FROM CHINA,

AND OF

THE JOURNEY FROM THE MOUTH OF THE PEI-HO TO THE RETURN TO CANTON.

BY HENRY ELLIS,
THIRD COMMISSIONER OF THE EMBASSY.

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It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let DIARIES therefore be brought in use.—LORD BACON.

SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.
1818.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

An Embassy to China is so rare an event in the history of Europe, that a correct narrative of the occurrences attending it possesses a degree of interest, almost independent of the mode in which the narrative itself may be executed. This consideration has induced the author to give his Journal to the public, and has inspired, he trusts, a well-founded confidence in their indulgence to deficiencies of style and arrangement.

In his statement of public proceedings, the author has received the sanction of those, whose situations in the Embassy best qualified them to form a judgment; and he has applied his utmost powers of personal observation, to give an accurate description of the country and of its inhabitants.

If such be the impression received by the public, the purposes of the author are fully effected; and he has only to regret, that the absence of assistance, perhaps arising from the want of solicitation on his part, should have rendered the work less complete than it might otherwise have been.

For the Drawings and Geographical Illustrations, the author is chiefly indebted to his friend the Honourable Charles Abbot; Mr. Mayne, master of the Alceste, and Mr. Brownrigg, midshipman of the same ship, have also lent their assistance.

Had the author's intention been known, or indeed had it existed at Canton, the value of the work would probably have been increased, by some efforts of Mr. Havell's pencil; these will now, however, be reserved for a separate publication.

An Appendix of Official Papers, chiefly translations from the Chinese, and an Itinerary corresponding with the text, are added to the work.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO

SECOND EDITION.

THE sale of the first edition of the Journal has induced the author to prepare a second edition in octavo, to meet the continued demand. Careful revision will, he trusts, be found to have removed several verbal errors produced by the haste in which the work was originally sent to the press; and if the author has retained certain passages which have attracted, and perhaps deserved the censures of critical authority, he has not been induced to do so, either by a want of confidence in the judgment of those who promulgated the censures, or

by an unreasonable attachment to the peculiarities of his own style, but from a conviction that such defects were of little consequence in a work which laid no claims to literary merit, and which rested its hopes of success solely upon accurate and impartial narration.

The principal events attending the late Embassy had, previously to the publication of the work, been detailed in the newspapers; translations of the Chinese edicts had been made public, and extracts from private journals and letters had partially developed the causes and result of the course that had been pursued; the author has therefore done little more than bring the origin, progress, and final termination of the negotiations under one point of view, and thus furnished the means of easy reference to a series of events, rather interesting from singularity than from political importance.

Where the author has hazarded remarks upon the polity, religion, and moral character of the Chinese nation, the grounds upon which his opinions have been formed are usually stated: these may have been confined or inadequate, but they have been deliberately examined, and the author has hitherto seen no reason to adopt contrary sentiments.

With these few observations the author commits this second edition of his journal to the public, in the expectation of their continued indulgence to its numerous and inherent deficiencies.

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A Map
of the Country on the
British Embassy
Upon the River
YANG-TSE-KIANG
From
KWA-CHOO to NAN-CHANG FOO
Drawn by
PROVINCE
KIANG
NAN
References.
Five miles of the first Class
Ditto Do. second Do.
Ten Do. third Do.
Village
Halting place
SCALE of MILES 69½ to a DEGREE.
SCALE of CHINESE LYS 200 to a DEGREE.
This part of the Country is flat and intersected by numerous streams.
Nan-chang-foo
LAKE

JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from England—Voyage—Madeira—Rio Janeiro—Observation on the present state of the Brazils—Cape of Good Hope—Table Mountain—Anjere roads—Java—Seeram—Batavia—Remarks upon the island of Java—Departure from Batavia roads.

EIGHTH of February, 1816.—We embarked on board his Majesty's ship Alceste, Captain Murray Maxwell; the greater number, I believe, with less of expectation for the future, than of regret at leaving England. The voyage must in fact occupy so many months, that the most sanguine cannot yet dwell upon the scene awaiting them at its termination with any degree of interest; and those who have perused the accounts of the former embassy, commenced too as it was under better prospects, can scarcely anticipate either public success or private gratification from any events likely to occur during our progress through China.

We sailed from Spithead in company with his Majesty's brig Lyra, Captain Basil Hall, and the Honourable Company's ship General Hewitt, Captain Walter Campbell, taken up by the Court of Directors for the conveyance of the bulkier articles of the stores and presents.

On the 18th of February we reached Funchal roads, where we found his Majesty's ship Phaëton, proceeding to St. Helena with Sir Hudson Lowe, and his Majesty's ship Niger, bound to America with the Right Honourable C. Bagot, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States. Both these ships had experienced very bad weather, which we had fortunately escaped by being delayed a few days at Portsmouth. We left the roads the same evening, and proceeded in company with the Lyra and Hewitt to lat. 20°. 04′. south and lon. 31°. 44′. west, where we separated, they continuing their voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, while we directed our course to the Brazils, always an object of attraction, but more particularly so at the present moment, when the residence of the Prince Regent of Portugal at

Rio Janeiro, and the state of the Spanish provinces, give to South America a high degree of political interest.

The Embassador and Captain Maxwell had the less hesitation in thus diverging from the regular course, as the superiority in sailing of the Alceste over the other ships rendered it nearly certain that no prolongation of the voyage generally would thereby be produced.

21st of March, 1816.—Anchored in the harbour of Rio Janeiro. The morning found us nearly in the centre of an amphitheatre of mountains, at the distance of seven miles. An opening between two extremes of land marked the entrance of the harbour; on the right is the fort of Santa Cruz, on the left that of Saint Lucie. The ranges presented in most places conical summits, and although one has especially obtained the appellation of Sugar Loaf, it is rather from its superior precipitous height, than from being singular in its shape. At this distance the beauty of the scenery is principally derived from the extent and impressive variety of the forms assumed by the different ranges. The

entrance to the harbour seemed about three quarters of a mile in breadth; and ranges of mountains, whose relative distances were marked by the position of the clouds resting upon their summits, formed the back ground. On approaching nearer to the entrance the scene became indescribably sublime and beautiful; the mountains that had formed the amphitheatre, on a nearer view divided themselves into islands and separate headlands; several were covered with thick though not lofty woods. Fortifications, detached houses, villages, and convents, occupied different positions; the eye wandered over an endless variety of picturesque combinations, presenting a mass of wondrous scenery, of which, although detached parts might be within the reach of the painter, the general effect must equally defy pictorial and verbal description. In variety of expression the scene somewhat resembled the harbour of Constantinople, but the features of nature are here on a grander scale.

The death of the Queen of Portugal, which occurred yesterday, has communicated a character of noisy and luminous

melancholy to the harbour and environs of the town; for whilst guns are fired every five minutes from the ships and batteries, the convents and churches are illuminated. Her majesty had an attack of illness six weeks since, from which period she gradually sunk under the infirmities of age. The king was much attached to her, and notwithstanding her unfortunate derangement, never omitted the daily domestic demonstrations of respect and regard. Her insanity was not uninterrupted, and it is said that her remarks during her lucid intervals displayed ability, and probably produced the greater effect from the peculiar circumstances under which they were made.

No decisive line has been adopted by this court respecting the Spanish revolted provinces. Neutrality armed, and equal to eventual hostility, would seem the present intention. Artiguez, formerly a smuggler, afterwards employed to protect the revenue, at present master of Monte Video and twenty other towns, appears one of the most prominent men amongst the Spanish patriots. Originally possessed of property and personal influence, he seems by his

spirit of enterprise to have acquired and maintained considerable advantages over his competitors by a permanency of system in his administration, a want of which has been the great cause of weakness at Buenos Ayres. The inhabitants of the latter place are represented as well inclined to England, whose protection and rule they would gladly accept: they are only united with Artiguez in a determination to resist Old Spain.

We landed on the 24th of March, and were most hospitably received by Mr. Chamberlain, the British consul and chargé d'affaires. He immediately commenced to perform his promise of shewing us the most beautiful parts of the scenery in the vicinity of St. Sebastian, and we rode with him to Bottefogo beach, the favourite drive of the princesses and ladies of Rio. An arm of the sea is here so completely inclosed by headlands, that it has the appearance and name of a lake. We rode along a lane, not unlike parts of England, with this difference, that the hedges were formed by choice shrubs; the brilliancy of the verdure, even at this unfavourable season, particularly attracted our notice. Mr.

Chamberlain's house is in the suburb or vilage of Cateti, deriving its name from the small stream the Cateti, crossed by a bridge of a single arch near the village.

On the 25th we visited the Russian consul, Mr. Langsdorf*, who resides during the hot season in a cottage near the summit of the Corcovado hill, vulgarly called Lord Hood's Nose. His object in selecting this situation is, both to avoid the heat and to pursue his researches in natural history. Uniting science to enthusiasm, he never loses an opportunity of adding to his collection, and in the pursuit of his favourite studies he defies every species of fatigue and inconvenience. The whole of the road, from the commencement of the ascent to the summit, presented a succession of beautiful scenery. An immense ravine, richly and imperviously wooded, occupied the bottom, and the ascent rose in undiminished verdure and fertility to all the sublimity of mountain magnificence. The total failure of the rains this season has taken much from the brilliancy of the ver-

* Mr. Langsdorf is well known in the literary world as one of the companions of Krusenstern.

dure, and the variety of the flowers, with which the earth and trees are usually covered; enough, however, still remained to gratify the unaccustomed eye. The rexia, mimosa, acacia, and fern, grow to the size of large trees; and the shrubs, which in England are the reward of labour and artificial aid, here swarm in all the wild profusion of bounteous nature. The air, earth, and water, are in this country ever teeming with new productions, the elements are ever generating, and nature never rests from the exercise of her creative faculties. Here and there a house was seen peeping from the midst of the woody ravine, as if to show that no place was secure from the tread of adventurous man.

When near the summit, and on approaching the stream which supplies the aqueduct, we observed an European lady, with her nurse and child, in a recess of the rock; her dress, appearance, and occupation (that of reading), presented, from their civilized combination, a most striking contrast to the uncultivated grandeur of the scene which surrounded us. The lady proved to be Mrs. Langsdorf, and she soon

joined us at the cottage, where we had the good fortune to find Mr. Langsdorf just returned from an excursion, and in his costume of naturalist, that is, with as few clothes as the exercise he had to go through, and the heat of the climate, required. He gave us a very cordial reception, and, when we had partaken of some refreshments, conducted us round the beautiful woods immediately adjacent to his retreat. There is a point on the summit of a hill near his cottage, from whence the sea was visible on the other side of the range to which Corcovado belongs; the city, the bay, and Catete were below, and around us were all the grandest features of mountain scenery.

On the road we overtook a boy of the Bottecoodoo tribe, in the service of Mr. Langsdorf; he was described as possessing much of the characteristic untameability of his tribe, aboriginal in the Brazils. Faithful to his trust, disposed to service, but ever ready to resort to the impenetrable wilds of his native woods for security against oppression, or attempts upon his personal freedom. In feature and person

this boy resembled the Malays, and to judge from the expression of his countenance, the moral character of the tribe might also be supposed similar. The Mogris are a more numerous tribe of aboriginal Brazilians: they would appear, like other barbarians, to pay almost equal adoration to the good and evil spirit. The few Brazilians to be met with in St. Sebastian are employed in the arsenal, or in rowing the royal barge and a few other boats.

We observed some Brazil pine-trees, which, though not large, were very beautiful; the tops were flat and umbrageous. Wild pineapples, in places, assisted in forming the hedges. The aloe grows to a considerable height, and is frequently seen amidst the branches of the mangoe, and other large trees.

March 26.—Our next excursion was to Tejeuca, where the object of attraction is a fine cascade. We breakfasted at Lord Beresford's, a short distance from the foot of the mountains. The cultivated grounds about Lord Beresford's gave a more pleasing character to the landscape, while the

Organ Pipe mountains, with their singular peaks, seen in the distance, preserved enough of the characteristic sublimity of Brazilian scenery. The king has a villa in the vicinity, only remarkable for the gateway, an exact counterpart of the entrance to Sion House. The scenery, in ascending the mountain, did not differ in general expression from what we had before seen; the trees were, however, loftier, but still narrow in girth; the old road skirted the mountain-streams by which the great cascade is formed, and the eye is, in the rainy season, delighted with a succession of lesser waterfalls: these, from the unusual drought of the season, were completely dried up. After having travelled over a very bad road for at least eight miles, we reached a house belonging to the Conde D'Aseca, who is also the proprietor of the district of Tejeuca, an estate which, in magnificence of scenery and variety of production, probably surpasses the possessions of any other European nobleman. Here we dismounted, and following a rude path (commanding a view of a fresh water lake, which receives the several streams

forming the cascade), at the distance of nearly a mile, reached the waterfall itself, even in this dry season a most beautiful object. The perpendicular descent exceeded one hundred feet, and the breadth was more considerable. The water, after this descent, at first forms an irregular basin, from whence it falls over a less precipitous ridge, and, dividing into streams through a small valley, finds its way to the lake. The cascade and basin are overhung by large trees, and the whole is beautifully enclosed by woods and projections of the rock; a hollow in the rock supplies a seat, and a fragment rudely levelled affords a table to those who visit the scene. A Portuguese nobleman was drowned not long since in the narrowest part of the basin, while his brother-in-law and a servant contemplated his struggles, either with the listlessness of indifference, or the stupid astonishment of fear.

St. Sebastian, viewed from the church of the same name, appears to be built in a semicircle; the streets are generally at right angles. The public buildings are neither numerous nor deserving of notice

in point of architecture. The little state and splendour belonging to St. Sebastian, is to be found in the churches: in these buildings the Grecian cross is the prevailing form: the shrines and altars are handsomely decorated, and the service is performed with much magnificence. The royal garden, whatever it may have been heretofore, does not now repay the trouble of a visit. Although the aqueduct forms a picturesque object at a distance, it is neither tastefully nor substantially built; the work, however, must have been raised at a considerable expense, from the mountainous nature of the ground over which it is carried; near the town it consists of a double row of arches: the water-course commences at a short distance below the Corcovado mountain.

To strangers the palace of the sovereign of the Brazils must appear inadequate to the dignity of its owner, or even of his representative: the open space in which it stands is the only exterior mark of a royal residence, for otherwise the building itself might have been mistaken for a barrack, or a large magazine. The houses of the

ministers and principal noblemen, though spacious, are not handsome; and in general the residences of the better class of inhabitants do not denote any attention to elegance of architecture; and even the more useful circumstance of adaptation to the climate is neglected. Shops and warehouses compose the streets, which were certainly less offensive from filth than I had expected. Slaves in considerable numbers, performing the severer parts of labour, some mulattoes, a few monks and nuns, to which may be added the officers and crews of ships in the harbour, constitute the pedestrians in the streets: the better classes of residents in St. Sebastian and its vicinity apparently avoiding the heat with as much care as English gentlemen in Calcutta. Large ill-shaped cabriolets, drawn by two horses, are the general vehicles, and are certainly much better conveyances than their exterior would seem to promise. I should be led to imagine, from the comparatively small number of wealthy inhabitants, and the want of social spirit, that the opera-house must be too large for the audience; the music is said to be good,

and the corps de ballet is at present assisted by some French dancers. Were an opinion to be formed of the Portuguese drama from the pieces represented at St. Sebastian, the art must be pronounced in its infancy: coarse, indecent buffoonery is the general character; and foreigners who understand the language, but have been accustomed to the rational amusement afforded at theatres in Europe, seldom frequent the house except on opera nights. The square in which the opera-house stands, whenever finished, will be the best part of the town. Strangers unprovided with letters of introduction will find the public accommodation at St. Sebastian most uncomfortable. The casas or coffee-houses are dirty, inconvenient, and ill supplied, and seldom furnish lodging.

I was prevented, by other occupations, from accompanying the rest of the party to the botanical garden, which is very much neglected by the government, and owes its continued existence to the persevering enthusiasm of the gentleman to whom it is entrusted. The tea plant, under the management of some Chinese,

flourishes here, and might, no doubt, with proper encouragement, be cultivated to an extent most beneficial to the colony itself, and the revenues of the state.

The population of St. Sebastian is estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand souls, two-thirds of which are slaves, and the remainder consists of Europeans and mulattoes. The agricultural and other severe labour is almost entirely performed by slaves; for, until very lately, not only Europeans but mulattoes considered themselves degraded by such employments. The mechanics were formerly all mulattoes; at present, however, the residence of the court has encouraged not only Portuguese, but other Europeans, to establish themselves as artificers. Slaves are here, as elsewhere, a most valuable article of property, a male selling from thirty to forty pounds. The return to the owners would, however, seem more frequently to be in a share of their wages, than in the value of the commodities produced by their labour. It is the practice to send the slaves out in the morning, with directions to bring home in the evening a certain sum of money,

supposed to be a large proportion of their daily earnings; any overplus belongs to the slave: deficiency is punished with more or less severity, according to the disposition of the individual; but in general the treatment is not cruel. Twenty thousand slaves are supposed to have been imported last year, a number exceeding that of former years, in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade apprehended from the interference of England.

The sight of a slave ship, or a visit to the slave market, must at once destroy the influence of arguments derived from expediency: beauties bestowed by nature to adorn the softer sex, and strength to dignify the rougher, are equally exposed to the purchaser, and enhance the value of the bargain. Though curiosity may stimulate to the view of such a scene, the better feelings of our nature will generally hurry us away in disgust before the baser motive has been gratified. The danger of insurrection, that might be apprehended from the large proportion borne by the slaves to the rest of the population, is in some measure counteracted by their be-

longing to nations of Africa differing from each other in language and habits, and possessing no point of similitude or union, except their enslaved condition. At Bahia, the former capital of the Brazils, where the slaves are generally from one nation, insurrections are frequent. Great varieties of national character are observed by slave merchants among the Africans; those from the Gold Coast are considered the most intelligent; it would not, however, seem that the differences are as much attended to, or as well understood, as in Persia, Arabia, and India.

St. Sebastian, although at present the residence of a court, and within seven weeks' sail of Europe, is many degrees inferior, in all that contributes to the comforts of civilized life, to the English settlements in India. The state of literature is sufficiently marked by the total impossibility of purchasing books, either of amusement or science; there is indeed a public library in the city, but as ill supplied as it is unfrequented.

Thirty or forty English mercantile houses are established at St. Sebastian, and the

export trade is almost entirely in their hands: their imports consist in English manufacture, and all the produce of Europe which can be required in the Brazils; their exports from St. Sebastian are sugar, coffee, and hides, the cotton of Pernambuco being so superior, that but little of this commodity is grown in the neighbourhood. Rio coffee holds the third rank in the European market. Portuguese merchants are the growers of the raw produce, which is conveyed by them to the port, where it is sold to the English exporter. It is asserted that the trade of the Brazils has lately become unprofitable to the foreign merchants, from the excess of capital employed in it, and that European produce is at present sold below prime cost; another opinion would attribute existing circumstances to a participation in the general stagnation of commerce, produced by transitory causes. The customs at the port of St. Sebastian are stated to amount to two hundred thousand pounds per annum. Land, in and near the city, sells high, as capitalists, from the absence

of public securities, employ their surplus funds in building.

Articles of living are dear and of inferior quality, arising entirely from the want of encouragement on the part of the wealthier inhabitants; coarse in their own diet, consisting principally of beef and a very thick vegetable soup, the richest Brazilian Portuguese are either too indolent or too parsimonious to secure improvement in supplies for the table, by giving a larger price for articles of superior quality; and although the climate and exuberant fertility of the soil would admit of combining the productions of the east and west, comparatively few of the European fruits and vegetables are common in the market, and even potatoes, the indigenous vegetable of America, are not always procurable. Grapes have lately been cultivated with success.

The depth of the soil on the hills, composed chiefly of disintegrated granite and felspar, is most remarkable; and in the rainy season, masses have been known to give way sufficient to overwhelm men and

herds of cattle in one common destruction. An instance of this calamity occurred four or five years since, and was said to have been caused by a heavy fall of rain, which lasted only two hours. Though periodical, the rains are not so regular as in India and other tropical climates; they fall in violent showers, seldom lasting more than three hours in a day. The present season had been remarkably dry, and great apprehensions were entertained of the failure of forage for the cattle. Beasts, intended for the market, are driven from a distance of some hundred miles in the interior at a very smart pace, and as they are not kept any length of time to be fattened, the badness of the meat is a necessary consequence. The climate of Rio Janeiro is so salubrious, that a naval hospital, established some years since at St. Sebastian, was discontinued, from being found unnecessary. In the month of March the height of the thermometer in the sun was 112°, and in a cool room 78°, in a less favourable situation it stood at 84°. The water at St. Sebastian is not pleasant to the taste, but is said to be wholesome.

Although the protracted residence of the Prince Regent at the Brazils may have had an injurious effect upon his European dominions, it has probably been the means of arresting the contagion of insurrection likely to have spread from the Spanish provinces. By considering the Brazils as a kingdom in itself, all restraints belonging to colonial policy have been removed, and every facility afforded to the natural advantages of the country. The militia, amounting to four or five thousand men, constitute the usual military force of the provinces; they are ill disciplined, and would be completely inefficient against an European enemy. An army of observation, composed principally of the troops lately arrived from Portugal, has been assembled on the frontier, and the additional reinforcements, daily expected, will be dispatched to the same quarter. These preparations are intended merely as a demonstration; the government of the Brazils having hitherto taken no part in the contest, but allowing the trade with Buenos Ayres to continue uninterrupted.

It is impossible to see the chiefs of the

party lately driven from the head of affairs at Buenos Ayres, seeking a refuge in the Brazils, and still maintaining a connexion with the infant state, directed to effecting their restoration to the supreme power, without being reminded of the civil dissensions of the ancient Greek and more modern Italian republics, where the greatest external danger did not check the force of intestine divisions. Civil commotion would appear to be one of the elements of popular governments; and looking to the history of the Roman republic, it may perhaps be asserted, that the conflict of factions, nearly equally balanced, is necessary to their healthful existence.

To pretend to form an opinion of the moral character of the inhabitants of St. Sebastian, from a residence of a few days, would be absurd; it is only possible to record the sentiments of others, who may have had the means of arriving at correct conclusions upon the subject, and these would lead to rather an unfavourable view of the state of society. The refinements of social intercourse are little cultivated by the higher orders, who are behind cor-

responding classes in Europe in the habits and acquirements of civilized life; they neither like nor encourage communication with foreigners; court etiquette, and the superstitious observances of the catholic religion, are their chief occupations. Their attention to outward decorum in the conduct of women is most strict; a married lady would be considered guilty of impropriety who appeared in public with any gentleman but a very near relation; a brother is the limit to the qualification of an escort. The accounts of travellers would, however, induce a belief that even the forms of propriety are not much attended to by the ladies of Brazil; such observations, although too often given as general, are only applicable to the particular classes that come more immediately under the notice of strangers; and with respect to those, country and climate seldom make any material difference.

The conduct of the government of the Brazils towards Lord Macartney and Sir Gore Ouseley naturally led us to expect similar attentions, and we anticipated with much satisfaction our immediate establish-

ment on shore in some house provided by the public authorities. Whether the difference of treatment we experienced is to be attributed wholly to the stagnation in all affairs of state, produced by the recent death of the queen, or partly to any other cause more permanent in its operation, is of little importance to determine; it is sufficient to mention, that the force of the precedents alluded to was not admitted by the Portuguese ministers, and a house was formally refused. The hospitality of Mr. Chamberlain supplied the deficiency, and as his house was not large enough to accommodate so large a party with beds, apartments at the houses of two English merchants, in the immediate vicinity, were obtained for the gentlemen of the embassy.

The body of the Queen of Portugal was deposited on the 23d in the convent of Ajuda. Great expectations had been raised respecting the funeral procession, which certainly were not realized; the only remarkable circumstance was the dress of the chief mourners, described as being the ancient mourning costume of the Portuguese nobility: they were eight in number,

and each was accompanied by a servant in rich livery, bearing his armorial shield; the dress, from the distance at which I observed it, resembled that of priests. There was a levee on the 28th, for the purpose of receiving the condolence of the nobles, the persons attached to the court and government, and of the foreign ministers. As it was arranged that there should be no public reception of the embassy, on account of the event that had just occurred, the king was pleased to admit Lord Amherst, accompanied by the secretary of embassy, to a private audience on the following day. The reception took place in the apartment where the public levee is held, but no officer of the court, except the chamberlains, were in waiting.

The failure of the wind did not allow of our sailing until Sunday, the 31st of March, when I bade adieu to the Brazils, with those feelings of regret which the hasty view of a very interesting country must ever leave in the mind, when curiosity is less satisfied with what has been observed, than disappointed at the impossibility of being more completely gratified.

We anchored in Table Bay, on the 18th

of April. The Lyra had arrived on the 14th of April, and the Hewitt on the 13th of April: they were both dispatched on the 26th of April, and the Alceste was detained until the 6th of May, as we were now fully confident of overtaking them within a few days, if not hours, after their reaching Java. Mr. Somerset, son of Lord Charles Somerset, went with Captain Hall in the Lyra, it being the intention of Lord Amherst to attach him to his guard on his arrival in China.

The land of Africa, bold and barren, does not want rugged sublimity; and the Table Mountain, from its form and elevation, is a striking object. Cape Town itself is so completely European that it excites little interest, at least to those coming from the west. The recollections, however, which I retain of my touching here on my voyage homewards tell me that the impression is different on coming from India; the neatness and regularity of the streets, the invigorating freshness of the air, and the healthful complexions of the Europeans, then give an anticipation of what have long been the objects of anxious expectation—the aspect and pleasures of home.

I ascended the Table Mountain a few days after my arrival, and after a tedious and fatiguing walk of more than three hours reached the summit, from whence there is no view that repays the fatigue. The composition of the mountain has been a subject of interest and enquiry among geologists, chiefly from the supposed existence of a mass of native iron near the summit; of this however, after the most diligent search, we could discover no traces. The story, therefore, of the iron formerly observed, having been part of an anchor conveyed to the spot in a frolic, seems well founded.

The immediate vicinity of the Cape, deriving its principal beauty from the varieties of the flowers and shrubs with which the ground is covered later in the year, was seen to great disadvantage at this season, when the winter is commencing.

I, with some others, made the usual excursions to Constantia, and to Stellingbosch, a village, thirty miles from the Cape, where we were most hospitably received by Mr. Rynevelt, the landroost of the district. I went from thence to Parl Berg, so named from a remarkable mass of granite on the summit, resembling in shape an enormous

pearl, and returned by the Tiger Berg mountain to Cape Town.

We sailed from Simon's Bay, whither the Alceste had gone after landing the Embassador at Table Bay, and having passed within sight of St. Paul's and Amsterdam Islands, we arrived at Anjere Roads on the 9th of June, where we found the Lyra, that had preceded us only two days; the General Hewitt was in sight, standing towards Batavia Roads.

10th of June, 1816.—We have received every possible attention from Mr. Mac Gregor, the master attendant. On the 11th Lieut. Col. Yule, of the Bengal army, resident of the Bantam district, arrived at Anjere from Seeram (or Serang), and arrangements were made for our departure to Batavia on the following morning. The majority of the party travelled in carriages to Seeram, while Messrs. Abel and Havell, the physician and artist of the embassy, proceeded in doolies, for the purpose of following their respective pursuits with greater facility than the more rapid mode of conveyance would permit. These doolies are somewhat longer than a palankeen, with a raised penthouse roof,

built of bamboo; they take little time in constructing, and though sufficiently capacious, are not heavy; the poles are fixed at the side, and not in the centre, as in a palankeen, and are either an entire piece or separate, according to the number of bearers employed.

The road to Seeram was through a wild picturesque country, with the ground of various declivity. The cocoa-nut tree predominated near Anjere; as we advanced into the interior the trees were of different species. Great varieties of the palm grow on the island; the sugar-tree, from whence the Java sugar is expressed, is amongst them. Plantations of bamboo were large and frequent; the uses to which this tree is applied are so various, that the domestic economy of the natives can scarcely be supposed to exist without it; the house which protects them from the weather, and almost every article of household furniture, are made of bamboo; and they have attained so much excellence in the workmanship, that the most perfect civilization could scarcely supply an advantageous substitute.

We reached Chilligong, half way to See-

ram, at the time of the weekly market, where the different articles for sale, chiefly such as were intended for immediate consumption, were arranged with much neatness. Fish, ready dressed, sweetmeats, cooling beverages, the areca-nut, and beetle-leaf, were the principal commodities. Some common cloths, intended for kubayas, or other parts of the native dress, with articles of coarse jewellery, were also exposed for sale. The kubaya is a cloth rolled round the body, and hanging down between the legs. The bridges were universally built of bamboo, and covered with mats; their lightness and elasticity give them the appearance of being insecure; this is, however, by no means the case, unless they are suffered to remain too long without repair: the sudden and frequent swelling of the small streams, from heavy showers, would undermine bridges of more solid construction, which, from being of expensive materials, would not be so readily or so attentively repaired. Local tradition says, that the sea formerly came up as far as Palabooler Boolang, a village, about three-fourths of

the distance between Anjere and Seeram. The city of Bantam, formerly the principal place to which Europeans resorted in Java, is now in ruins: the remains, however, attest its ancient splendour; and if the accounts of those who visited it are to be credited, the form and general character of the buildings belong to Indian architecture. It is still the residence of the sultan, who has ceased to be an independent prince, having ceded his territory to the British government, and accepted a stipend in return.

The reigning sultan died during the stay of some of our party at the Residency, distant six miles from the city; he was succeeded by his son, a minor, and the regency was entrusted to the late sultan's uncle. The latter chief is a man of singular character, and eccentric habits: he professes a great contempt for the outward trappings of dignity, and, indeed, for worldly possessions. In the simplicity, and almost meanness, of his dress, the former was exhibited; and the careless profusion with which he expends his stipend, sufficiently evinced the latter; in

this respect he very materially differed from his nephew, who was extremely avaricious. Much persuasion was necessary to procure his acceptance of the regency, as he preferred the less laborious superintendance of a village lately established in the limits of the Bantam district, to the comparative splendour of a stipendiary court.

There was much land under the plough, in the immediate vicinity of Seeram, but the district in general exhibited, from the absence of cultivation, the effects of the internal disturbances to which the province has been subject of late years. Aware that the pepper was the great object of interest to the Dutch, and that the mode employed to secure its monopoly was the great source of oppression, the natives destroyed all the plants throughout the district; and although their sentiments towards the English government are, from the totally different character of the administration, extremely favourable, the local authorities have not succeeded in effecting the restoration of the pepper culture. How dreadful must have been the system of that

government, which rendered the bounteous gifts of nature an object of detestation to their possessors! Accounts agree in describing the inhabitants of the hilly country in this district, as a different race from people of the plains; they are smaller in stature, and speak a peculiar language.

The Ingabi of the Javanese districts is a municipal officer answering to the patells, or heads of villages, in southern India: he is chief of the police, collects the revenue, and is annually elected by the inhabitants. The reports of those employed in the administration of justice in this district, describe crimes as neither frequent nor of great enormity. Adherence to truth appears to be so distinguishing a feature in the native character, that it has been found difficult to induce prisoners, on their trial, to act upon the principle of pleading not guilty, established in English jurisprudence. Imprisonment for debt was extremely rare; and, indeed, civil actions in general were unfrequent. Allowed to plead their own cause, the natives are said to exhibit considerable ingenuity, more especially in the examination of witnesses.

The punchayet, or native jury, is universally established; and, indeed, the internal economy of every village presents an interesting similarity with those of southern India.

The first part of the road from Seeram to Chikandee, where we breakfasted, had nearly the same appearance as the immediate vicinity of the Residency: a part skirted the Kalee river, and at the distance of ten miles from Chikandee we crossed the Inderado, a wide stream, by a ferry; we travelled afterwards to the village through a jungle, always an interesting scene to those who have seldom witnessed the wild luxuriance of nature, unclaimed, and therefore unchanged by the hand of man. We were met at Tangerang, nearly twenty miles distant from Batavia, by Captain Watson, the governor's aid-de-camp, who had prepared refreshments for us in the house of a Dutch gentleman. After leaving Tangerang, we crossed, by a ferry, the Chidanee river, which, if I have not been mistaken, is the same that flows from Buitenzorg, the country residence of the governors. From the last stage to Ba-

tavia we at first had the canal, or sloken, on our right, and a range of villas on our left; afterwards passing through a quarter entirely occupied by Chinese, and another quarter, the name of which I do not recollect, we reached Ryswick, the residence of the governor. The muddy canals, and the quantity of vegetation in the vicinity, give, even to the suburbs, an appearance of insalubrity, which, however, is now only considered as belonging to the town of Batavia itself. Ryswick House, although at a distance of less than three miles from the city, is considered perfectly healthy; and the cantonments at Welterwreden exhibit, in the state of the troops, an instance of uninterrupted health, scarcely equalled by any other part of the British army on foreign service.

Of late years Batavia itself has ceased to be the residence of the wealthier Europeans, who all occupy villas in the suburbs and vicinity. The houses originally built for this class are spacious, but wholly devoid of architectural taste. The Staadt House appeared the handsomest building.

Mixture with the English would not seem to have materially changed the habits of the Dutch. The apartment over the canal is still the favourite resort of the Hollander, and the cheroot his most usual companion. The figures of birds, beasts, and occasionally heathen gods or goddesses, surmounting the walls of a Dutch villa, are as remarkable for number as want of selection. External air is the great object of dread to the Dutch in Batavia. A stranger observing their glass windows and closed blinds, can scarcely believe himself within six degrees of the equator, or admit that any class of persons could continue to act in defiance to the most obvious suggestions of common sense. The principle upon which the Dutch exclude the external air, is the danger arising from checked perspiration, and the consequent necessity of maintaining an equal degree of heat; not aware that the loaded atmosphere which they breathe in their closed apartments, is in itself destructive of health, and that by reducing the tone of the system generally, they render themselves more susceptible of disease, and

more sensible of changes in the temperature, the effects of which their utmost precautions cannot totally exclude.

In Batavia the middling classes, including mechanics, are generally Chinese*, the descendants of former settlers; they are of course a mixed race, as no women, I believe, ever leave China. It is a general practice with the wealthier Chinese in Batavia, to send their children to China for education, and there are several instances of Chinese returning finally to their country, after an absence of several years. To speak from my own observation I should say, that there was not a sufficient difference of features to strike the eye of a stranger, between the Javanese and Malays, certainly not equal to mark any supposed difference of origin. Few African slaves were to be seen in the streets.

Caleches, drawn by four or two ponies, clumsily built, but not ill adapted to the

* The island of Formosa has been the great seat of emigration from China to Batavia. The natives of this island, and of the province of Fo-kien, surpass the rest of the nation in enterprise, engage more generally in distant navigation, and more frequently establish themselves in foreign countries.

climate, are generally used throughout the European possessions in Java. Relays of horses, at the distance of nearly a French post, are stationed upon all the great roads. The ponies, though small, are active and hardy: probably here, as elsewhere, the latter quality depends upon the mode of treatment. Ponies of the Beema breed are most esteemed, and are imported, I believe, from the island of Sumbawa.

On the 15th Mr. Griffith and I left Batavia, with the intention of proceeding to Chanjore, the nearest regency across the mountains. On our arrival at Buitenzorg, the country residence of the governor, distant thirty-two miles from Batavia, we found that all the horses on the road were held in readiness for the governor, who was hourly expected from his annual visit to the Batavian regencies*; we were therefore compelled to abandon our excursion, and to content ourselves with the environs of Buitenzorg. The house is spacious, handsomely built, and well situated: the village and district bear

* The chief native officers of districts are styled regents.

the same name. No part of the road from Batavia, except the immediate vicinity of Buitenzorg, presented any beauty of scenery; here, however, the country is highly picturesque; lofty mountains occupy the back ground, and happy combinations of wood and mountain-stream, resemble the most beautiful scenes in Britain. From Buitenzorg is seen a conical-shaped hill, standing alone, from whence are obtained large quantities of the celebrated birds' nests. The village is chiefly inhabited by Chinese mechanics, who exchange manufactured articles for rice and other produce of agricultural labour. The Geedee mountain, one of the highest in the island, is visible from the house, and was ascended by Mr. Raffles and the gentlemen of his family, who passed some hours on its summit, and fixed there a marble tablet commemorative of the conquest of Java by the English.

On the 17th the whole party breakfasted at Siserooa, the residence of the adipattee, or chief native officer of the district of Buitenzorg. The scenery throughout the ride was extremely romantic; the mean-

dering of the Chidanee, and the light hanging bamboo bridges, in which habit alone can produce confidence, joined to the various foliage and forms of the trees, left nothing to desire in the landscape immediately round us; and the various tints of the mountains gave equal interest to the distance. Much of the road lay through an estate belonging to four of the principal Dutch inhabitants of Batavia, and the fertility and various productions of the soil, together with the beauty of the country, must render it a most delightful possession. Scarcity of water, and difficulty in applying it to purposes of irrigation, are never obstacles to the productiveness of the soil, in the part of the island which we have seen; on the contrary, a supply is constantly at hand: and nature does not here, as in northern climates, sparingly reward the industry of the farmer, or leave him in tedious suspense as to the result of his labour; vegetation is almost immediate, and the number of crops proportionably increased. The fields were laid out in terraces, for the purpose of facilitating the irrigation: great varieties of rice are pro-

duced on the island, and two or three species, independent of an artificial supply of water. All accounts agree in establishing the superiority of the eastern over the western districts of the island, in soil, productions, and beauty of scenery. The thermometer was some degrees lower than at Buitenzorg, and the climate generally very like that of a fine summer morning in England.

We were informed that in the adipattee of Buitenzorg we saw an instance of manly beauty, according to the native notions upon the subject. His figure, like that of all the Javanese and Malays, was muscular and well proportioned; he was taller than most of his countrymen, though scarcely of what we should call a middle height; his face, though not absolutely deficient in approach to pleasant expression, exhibited a combination of ugliness seldom witnessed in the western world; his flat nose, and enormous mouth, garnished with teeth blackened either by art or the immoderate use of the betel, rendered his countenance disgusting, if not hideous, and totally excluded the possibility of

good looks. His mounted attendants were dressed in scarlet, with bowl-shaped coverings of basket-work on their heads, worn principally by coachmen and horsemen, but occasionally by all classes. The adipattee had European boots, the rest of his dress was national, consisting of a handkerchief tied round the head, a tunic, and a cloth wrapped round the loins and lower parts of the body, under which trowsers, or short drawers, are generally worn. Malays or Javanese are seldom seen without their kris, or dagger; they are of various forms, from the narrow waving blade, to a dagger in shape not unlike the ataghan of the Turks. It is the national weapon, and, from its size, is characteristic of men more inclined to attack their enemy than defend themselves. Krisses are valued for their antiquity, they are the great heir-looms of families, and are the last possessions which the Malay stakes upon the hazard of the cock-fight. The daring spirit of this people is sufficiently marked by their mode of combat: the handkerchief is unbound from the head, and wound round the arm, which it serves to protect; thus barehead-

ed, and guarding only the limb employed in attack, they rush upon their foe, resolved to overcome or be destroyed. It is impossible to look at the kris, retaining its poison for years, and avoid an impression, that the asserted vindictiveness of the Malays is not wholly without foundation.

It must require some time to reconcile the European eye, even though accustomed to the dark countenances of India, to the female face in Java; the ugliness of the male is somewhat softened down in the women, but more than enough remains, I had almost said, to disgust: the filthy, discoloured state of the teeth is perhaps the worst part of their appearance. In the situation which places them in the most intimate relation with Europeans, they display better qualities than those of the same class in India; they are more faithful and attached; indeed their jealousy is a proof of the superior value they place upon the regard of their protectors. Kambang, or Rose, is not an unusual name among native girls, to which, however, their appearance bears nearly the same

relation, that the smell of the dooriyan fruit * of Java does to the perfume of the flower whose name they bear. I shall reserve my general remarks upon the national character, collected from the conversation of those who had resided some time on the island, for the concluding part of this sketch.

The ropes used in the ferries where great strength was required, were made either from rattans joined together, or the fibre of the sugar-tree, differing only in colour, being black, from the coyyar, used in India for the rigging of ships. The natives of this island generally select places remote from the great roads for their habitations; the feudal services to which they were subject under the former government, sufficiently account for this practice; and the facility with which their dwellings and household utensils are manufactured, renders them in a great measure independent of shops or markets. The common clothes worn by the lower orders are woven by the women, and, as has been observed, they obtain iron tools, &c. from the Chinese,

* This fruit is remarkable for a most offensive smell.

in exchange for rice and other agricultural produce.

On the 17th we returned to Batavia, much pleased with our excursion, and with very high ideas of the beauty and fertility of the island. On the road we passed the site of the lines of Cornelius, which were destroyed soon after the capture of the island. The house, surrounded by a small fort, called Maister Cornelius, that gave its name to the position, still remains. Tradition says that it was built by the Dutch gentleman who first ventured to establish himself at the distance of some miles from Batavia; he did not, however, feel himself secure without a fortification, in which, with a sufficient garrison, he might probably have defied the Soosoohanen, or Emperor of Java, himself. Though these formidable works are no longer to be traced on the surface of the country, the trees still wear the marks of the destructive fire from the Dutch batteries. Marshal Daendels is said to have selected and fortified this position in anticipation of attack from the English, hoping that the time required to carry the works

would, from the proximity of the situation to Batavia, prove fatal to the health of the assailants, and, consequently, to the success of their enterprise. The cantonments at Welterwreden are extensive and well situated; on one side stands the palace commenced by Daendels. Had we retained possession of the island it would probably have been finished, as the building is in a very advanced state. In spaciousness and external appearance it would be a fit residence for the representative of sovereign power in Java.

The administration of Marshal Daendels was conducted in the true Bonaparte spirit: bold in his conception, he never was deterred from carrying his plans into effect by alleged difficulties, or asserted rights; the feelings and possessions of individuals were made to yield to his wishes, either private or public; and he preferred maintaining his authority by the fears, rather than the affections of those whom he was sent to govern. Although he must have been aware of the obvious tendency of the system adopted by the Dutch to destroy the resources of the island, it neither entered

into his own character, nor into the policy of the government which he represented, to ameliorate the condition of the natives by a communication of civil liberty. Whether natural, or assumed for the purpose of intimidation, his manner was ferocious to an unparalleled degree. An anecdote is related of his arriving late at night at one of the regencies, and ordering some eggs to be prepared for his supper; the native chief unluckily had none in the house, and had the temerity to inform the marshal, that no eggs were procurable at that late hour. Daendels seized one of the pistols, that were always placed near him, and discharged it at his head; the ball passed near his ear. The regent, a man of some humour, says that the whizzing of the bullet had a most wonderful effect, all the hens in the village beginning to lay their eggs immediately: the fact was, that a second search, under the fear of death, overcame the difficulty. It is said that the removal of Daendels from the government arose from a suspicion entertained of his intending to render himself independent. Is it not in the nature

of usurped and new authority to dread imitation in its instruments? Under Daendels the character of the administration of Java was changed; the commercial spirit had yielded to the more energetic action of military despotism. The substitution would certainly have been advantageous to the natives, for no oppression is so unfeeling and unbending as that founded upon the calculations of mercantile monopolists.

On the 18th the party went to Chillinching, about sixteen miles distant from Batavia, the place where our troops disembarked in 1811. The country is here low and swampy, and must have given a most unfavourable idea of the island of Java; the appearance would, indeed, seem to promise all the calamitous effects that had been attributed to the climate; and the necessity which compelled the troops to halt two nights amidst the swamps, while the bridge on the high-road was repairing, produced sufficient illness amongst them to justify the worst apprehension. The narrow raised road, not admitting more than four men abreast, that leads from the

beach to the village, and the low grounds on either side, must have rendered the advance even of infantry difficult, and presented great obstacles to the landing, had the position been defended. In the event of political changes placing us again in a state of hostility with the possessors of Java, experience will point out the eastern parts of the island as the quarter for attack, both from their superiority in climate and facility in obtaining supplies; as well as with a view to the certainty of receiving co-operation from the natives.

A ball was given on the 18th, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, by the English officers to the Dutch. The occasion was well chosen for a public entertainment; the hosts and their guests could have no discordance of feeling as to the great event they were about to commemorate. If the result was more glorious to Britain, it was more important to the Netherlands; to that country it was peace, independence, and political existence. In the company was not to be observed that colonial aspect in dress and appearance which struck the members of

the former embassy to China on a somewhat similar occasion. The elder Dutch ladies, however, by retaining the kubaya*, reminded the spectator of Java, while their younger countrywomen were scarcely more behind the latest European fashions, than bad taste and the tardiness of communication would account for.

The history of the colonial policy of Europeans can scarcely present an instance of greater mismanagement than the administration of Java by the Dutch East India Company. Their character of sovereigns was merged in that of monopolists; the sole object was to obtain the annual investment at the lowest prime cost, and their policy never looked beyond the year. In this they manifested a want of mercantile wisdom; for their system of contingents had a direct tendency gradually to annihilate the sources of supply, and consequently to destroy the capital itself. Java, from its fertility, natural productions, and geographical situation, would,

* The kubaya is a loose dress worn by the native women of Java.

well managed, yield a large interest, in the shape of revenue, to its possessors; but the inordinate commercial avidity of the Dutch, not satisfied with even an usurious interest, annually deducted from the real capital of the country. Indifferent to the rights and the happiness of their subjects, and to the general prosperity of the island, they left the internal government of the provinces entirely in the hands of the native chiefs, whom in return they compelled to supply them with coffee, pepper, and other exportable produce, at a much lower rate than the cultivator could afford. Provided the chiefs or regents, as the native chiefs were denominated, made good their engagements, the Dutch were indifferent to the mass of human misery by which the object was effected. It is generally admitted, that the system of oriental governments, by declaring the sovereign the proprietor of the soil, takes as large a share of the produce from the subject, in the shape of revenue, as its continued cultivation will allow; but under the Dutch administration of Java, it may be estimated that the

whole amount of their commercial investments was added to this proportion, for it is not to be supposed that the native chiefs would, from motives of compassion, diminish the funds, upon which they depended for the maintenance of their rank, and for their personal enjoyments, by deducting the contingent from the ordinary revenue. Oppression, however, beyond a certain extent, becomes political suicide, and the increasing financial difficulties in Java had rendered it a burthen to the mother country; and though Marshal Daendels had doubled the revenue of the island, the disbursements still exceeded the receipts.

If the Dutch were unwise in the administration of Java, they were not less unjust in their estimation of the moral character of the natives. The pirates who infested their coasts, probably differing but little from persons of similar occupations in other parts of the world, are the originals of the pictures which they have given of the Javanese. A consciousness of meriting the severest retaliation from their oppressed subjects, by exciting their fears, inclined these commercial tyrants to

attribute to them a ferocity of disposition, which British experience for the last five years has completely disproved. Dutch officers, or public functionaries, never moved through the country without a guard; and the unexpected appearance of a native on such an occasion, was considered sufficient to justify his being put to death, as only wanting opportunity to become a murderer.

Malays and Javanese have often been confounded by travellers: the former generally inhabit the sea-coast, and are said to be more impetuous in character, and more dissipated in their habits, than the latter. I was not, however, able to collect that the difference of their moral merits was such as to require a different administration. The Javanese esteem themselves a superior race, and consider it an affront to be called Malays: to the latter belongs chiefly that spirit of desperate gambling, which, under the influence of bad luck, produces such acts of insane barbarity. No European gentleman can surpass a Malay in his sense of the obligation of debts of honour; he will even

have recourse to theft, with the certainty of detection and capital punishment, to satisfy them. Veracity, I was informed, belongs both to Javanese and Malays, to a degree that must surprise all acquainted with the general deficiency of oriental nations in this quality; an instance has been already given of their almost pertinacious adherence to truth. Our acquaintance with the natives of Java, although short, impressed us with a very favourable opinion of their character and disposition; they appeared intelligent, cheerful, and kindly disposed, without any reserve in their manners, or prejudice against strangers. Difference in religion does not, as in India and other eastern countries, become a restraint upon mutual intercourse; the natives invite intimacy, and while they readily adopt some European usages, do not stigmatize as abominations those which their inclination or religious tenets reject. The separation between the natives of this island and the British will be matter of mutual regret; the enlightened policy, which dictated the amelioration in the revenue and judicial systems, introduced by

Sir Thomas Raffles, had begun to find its reward, in the improved finances of the colony; the substitution of a moderate revenue, derived directly from the land, and calculated on the species of produce most generally and naturally raised, at once liberated the commerce and agriculture of the island from the fetters of mercantile oppression; and the colonial government, under his administration, appeared as the sovereign, claiming a fair proportion of the resources of the country, to defray the exigencies of the public service; and not as the owner of a plantation, coercing his slaves to labour beyond their physical strength, for the gratification of his insatiable avarice. Such was the character of the former Dutch government; it is to be hoped that the more liberal notions of the duties of sovereigns, and the rights of the people, forced upon the monarchs of Europe by the tremendous vicissitudes of these latter times, will extend their influence to Java, and that the system of government introduced by the British will not be abandoned, nor the inhabitants, now accustomed to better days, be thrown

back to the miseries of political and commercial oppression.

The researches of Sir Thomas Raffles, and of other gentlemen employed in the British administration of Java, will afford much valuable information respecting the antiquities and literature of the island. The ancient religion was certainly Hindoo, and the remains of temples, and the works extant in languages now obsolete, attest a considerable degree of civilization and advancement in the arts: to the perusal of these researches I look forward with much delight, as it is impossible to visit this island without feeling a deep interest in all that relates to its former history and actual condition.

21st of June.—Sailed from Batavia roads. I had omitted to mention that the Lyra was dispatched from Anjere roads on the 12th of June, to announce the approach of the embassy to Sir George Staunton; an opportunity had fortunately occurred of writing to Canton by an American vessel on the 10th, of which Lord Amherst had availed himself; we may therefore look forward to meeting with

Sir George, and the gentlemen of the factory who are to accompany the embassy, at the appointed rendezvous; that such may be the case is highly desirable, as we shall thereby avoid the impediments which the jealousy of the local government of Canton might present to the immediate progress, if not to the reception, of the embassy.

CHAPTER II.

Expectations on reaching China—Origin and objects of the embassy—Probability of success—Arrival at Lemma islands—Communications with Sir George Staunton—Receipt of Imperial edict—Voyage in the Yellow sea—Arrival at the mouth of the Pei-ho—Communications with the Mandarins—Landing of the embassy—Interview with the Chinese commissioner—Journey to Tien-sing—Arrival—Occurrences at Tien-sing—Remarks on city and inhabitants—Departure—Imperial edict respecting the band—Discussion upon departure of the ships—Communication from Pekin, expressing the Emperor's dissatisfaction—Discussion with Mandarins thereupon—Appointment of superior Mandarins notified—Arrival at Tong-chow.

Sixth July, 1816.—The scene of action is now so near, that it becomes an interesting occupation to take a short view of the origin and objects of the present embassy; feelings and prejudices will arise in the progress of the negotiation, if not on our very arrival within the Chinese dominions, which will probably influence our opinions according to the occurrences of the moment, and remove from our con-

sideration the principles that determined the adoption of the measure.

Nor perhaps in a journal like the present, intended for the eye of private friendship, can it be deemed irrelevant to trace the hopes and feelings of the individual, on approaching a country and a nation at least interesting from novelty, and remarkable for singularity of character and habits.

To those who, like myself, have passed years of their lives in absence from their native country, and have visited some of the principal courts of Asia, the mere difference of manners, customs, and court pageantry, from the European world, will be less striking; and perhaps the same comparative indifference will extend itself to the political conduct and moral habits of the nations. I shall be less surprised with the exhibitions of squalid poverty among the great body of the people, and with the arrogance and at the same time meanness of the higher orders. Nor will it excite my indignation or astonishment to find that the civilization of the west is in the east either disbelieved or

despised; or to observe a nation, satisfied with the hereditary mediocrity of ages, resisting the introduction of foreign, but superior knowledge.

Had I the capacity, I much doubt the possibility of collecting any new information respecting China or its inhabitants. The more modern works of our countrymen Sir George Staunton and Mr. Barrow, of De Guignes and Vanbraam, have satisfied curiosity up to the date of the respective embassies to which they belonged, and as centuries have produced less change in China than a generation in Europe, variety is not now to be expected; in fact, at an earlier period the labours of the missionaries had almost exhausted in detail every possible subject of popular inquiry: the satisfaction however remains of seeing that of which we have read or heard; but such satisfaction will be proportionate to the interest of the subject, and on this I must confess that China has always appeared to me eminently deficient.

China, vast in its extent, produce, and population, wants energy and variety; the chill of uniformity pervades and deadens

the whole: for my own part, I had rather again undergo fatigue and privations among the Bedouins of Arabia, or the Eeliats of Persia, than sail along, as we may expect, in unchanging comfort on the placid waters of the imperial canal.

But whether the view just taken be just or otherwise, ignorance of the language, and the state of surveillance under which we shall probably travel, will be complete bars to enjoyment and research; the highest satisfaction will consist in returning to England, and being able to say, with Mr. Barrow, "*Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.*"

Early in the year 1815 the increasing difficulties which the supercargoes at Canton represented themselves as experiencing in the conduct of the trade, from the oppressions of the local government, induced the Court of Directors to contemplate the measure of an embassy to China, and they accordingly submitted their views upon the subject to his Majesty's ministers. The President of the Board of Control, to whom their communication was addressed, suggested the expediency of deferring the

adoption of any specific measure until further and more detailed information had been received from the committee of supercargoes; for although an appeal to the imperial government might be recommended or resorted to by them, while suffering from actual oppression, it by no means followed that they would retain the same opinion, if measures of resistance, already pursued at Canton, should prove successful: in this reasoning the directors concurred.

Possessed of the requisite information, and supported by the renewed recommendation of their supercargoes, the chairman and deputy chairman of the Court of Directors, in a letter dated the 28th July, 1815, solicited the aid of his Majesty's ministers to the proposed measure, and the appointment, by the Prince Regent, of some person of high rank, as his Embassador to the Emperor of China.

It may not be inexpedient here to take a brief review of the nature of the altercation between the Chinese authorities at Canton, and the committee of supercargoes; and to clear the subject of violent

feeling or prejudice, it is right, on the very outset, to recollect, that the British trade at Canton has never been guarded by rights or privileges publicly granted, or mutually stipulated, between the two nations. There are no capitulations, as in Turkey; nor commercial treaties, as amongst the civilized nations of Europe. Alterations of port duties, or of the number of Chinese allowed to trade with foreigners, may be injurious, but are not matters of complaint; upon these points we may solicit amelioration, but cannot demand redress.

Guided, however, by these principles, we shall not hesitate to pronounce the interference of the Chinese authorities, in 1813, with the appointment of Mr. Roberts to the situation of chief of the factory, to be unjustifiable, and utterly inadmissible; not so the appointment sanctioned by the Emperor in the same year, of a cohong, or diminished number of Chinese security merchants. The right of the Chinese government to make the alteration is complete, and the only question for the consideration of the super-

cargoes and their employers at home is, the expediency of continuing the trade under such circumstances. Successful resistance to both these attempts, and some minor circumstances, were considered, by the committee, as the remote causes of the disputes which assumed so serious an aspect in 1814.

The immediate, and certainly not unreasonable, cause of the hostility of the Canton government, was the violation of the neutrality of the port, by the seizure of an American ship within the undisputed limits of the Chinese dominions. This act was committed by the captain of his Majesty's ship Doris. Other seizures of American ships by that officer, although justified by the acknowledged principles of maritime law in Europe, were also complained of by the Canton government, who called upon the chief and select committee of supercargoes to exert their authority in redressing the injury, and preventing its recurrence. The mode insisted upon was, the immediate dispatch of his Majesty's ships to Europe; and to give weight to the demand, the supply of provisions was

forbidden, and demonstrations were made of an intention to expel them by force.

In vain did the committee represent that they had no control over his Majesty's ships, and that therefore they could not, and ought not to be held responsible for the conduct of their commanders. The Viceroy of Canton, as might have been expected, refused to admit the separation of authority, naturally preferring, as bearers of the responsibility of all acts committed by British subjects, a body of merchants resident on the spot, and therefore tangible, to superior authorities, placed at such a distance, that an appeal to them seemed almost nugatory.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the supercargoes were so tenacious of official forms, as to hesitate making an apology, in the name of their nation, for the acknowledged irregularity that had been committed, and immediately offering such explanations respecting the other seizures, as were best calculated to remove the misapprehension, or to allay the increasing irritation of the members of the Chinese government.

The Viceroy of Canton endeavoured to force compliance with his requisition for the removal of the men of war, by a series of acts all more or less embarrassing to the supercargoes. Chinese of all descriptions were prohibited from serving in the English factory; the addresses of the select committee were returned unopened; and the use of the Chinese character in such documents, from which much advantage had been derived in the conduct of public business, was forbidden for the future. The Chinese linguist, Ayew, who had been employed by the factory to carry the portrait of the Prince Regent to the minister Sung-ta-jin, at Pekin, was seized, imprisoned, and beat, on the ground of his connexion with foreigners; and it was indirectly asserted, that he was engaged in treasonable practices with the same persons. This man was also accused of an illegal attempt to purchase rank, for which he was, by his former occupation of a servant, disqualified.

Three of these acts, as involving the very existence of the trade, were certainly fair subjects of remonstrance to the local

government, but with respect to the last, doubts may be entertained: unjust accusations preferred, and tyrannical punishment inflicted upon a native of China, might be matter of private reprobation, or even abhorrence, but remonstrance upon such points approaches to the nature of interference with the judicial proceedings of an independent government. A different, and certainly a more generous view, was taken by the select committee; and in the discussions which ensued, the alleged ground of the seizure of the linguist was made the principal head of complaint, and its retractation the *sine quâ non* of amicable adjustment.

The inflexible determination manifested by the Viceroy to persist in the acts just enumerated, compelled the supercargoes to have recourse to the measure of stopping the trade; a measure pregnant with injury to both parties, with an immediate loss of revenue to the local government, and with the greatest commercial and financial embarrassment to the East India Company, should it fail of success. The very desperation of the measure required the utmost

firmness in carrying it into effect, and in this the supercargoes were not wanting. A regular negotiation upon the points at issue was allowed by the Viceroy. Mandarins of rank were appointed to meet Sir George Staunton (deputed from the select committee for that purpose), on a footing of equality, and the result was the removal, and satisfactory explanation, of the subjects of complaint.

In the course of their discussions with the local government, the select committee had great reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Hong merchants; the commercial interests of the chief merchant were deeply engaged in the security of the American ships, and the intrigues of another extending to Pekin, were supposed to have for their object the complete subjugation of the trade to Chinese control.

The difficulties of the supercargoes were naturally much increased by the failure of support where they had most right to expect it; and their success has completely established the vital importance of the British trade to the government and province of Canton. To that importance

alone can be attributed the surrender, on this occasion, of national and personal prejudice to the demands of foreigners, however supported by reason, or justified by usage.

The question of these disagreeable altercations might have been considered as set at rest, were it not for the knowledge subsequently obtained of the report addressed by the Viceroy to the Emperor, in which language similar in spirit to that complained of, and retracted, was renewed: this act of falsehood and treachery necessarily diminished, if not destroyed, confidence for the future.

Although this last proceeding of the Viceroy was the limit of the information possessed by the directors when they came to the determination respecting the embassy, it will give more connexion to this narrative to anticipate their knowledge, by bringing under notice the imperial edicts relating to the occurrences at Canton, received subsequent to the termination of the discussions with the local government. Apprehensions are expressed in one edict of the designs of the Chris-

tians in different parts of the empire; full power is given to punish undue intercourse with foreigners, and a rigorous inquiry is directed into their conduct. Another edict, addressed to the Viceroy, and founded upon a report transmitted from Canton, censures the mode in which the foreign trade is conducted: a removal of the junior merchants from the Hong, on the ground of their insufficiency of capital, is pointed out; and Sir George Staunton is personally mentioned and described, from his knowledge of the Chinese language and of the country, acquired during the former embassy, as a dangerous person, who ought to be placed under the jealous surveillance of the local authorities. One of the chief merchants was supposed to be the author of the report, and the principal mover of the intrigues at Pekin, for the establishment of the cohong. It would appear, that on a review of these several occurrences, the supercargoes felt by no means secure of their continuing unmolested in the conduct of their commercial affairs; and the directors represent them as stating their conviction, "that had they

succeeded in avoiding the disputes of 1814, the strong measures they were then obliged to adopt must still have been recurred to, in a year or two more: and it was their decided opinion, repeatedly expressed in their minutes and letters, that it had become highly expedient to send a mission to the Emperor, either from Bengal or England, in order to obtain due protection and security for the British trade."

The directors themselves entertained an opinion that the truth was concealed from the Emperor, and therefore concluded that a redress of grievances might be expected from a direct application to his supreme authority. Much stress was laid, by the directors, upon the indisputable importance of the British trade, not only to the province of Canton, but to the imperial revenues; and they thence inferred the certain disapprobation by the Emperor of any measures that endangered its regularity and continuance.

Although the solicitation of additional privileges was generally disclaimed by the directors, their views on this occasion extended to two objects of new and im-

portant concession. First, the employment of such Chinese merchants as the supercargoes might think fit; and, secondly, the establishment of a direct intercourse with Pekin, either by means of a resident minister, or by written addresses to some tribunal: a confirmation of the several points contended for and gained by the supercargoes, in their recent negotiation with the Viceroy, embraced all the other expectations of the directors from the proposed embassy. They also suggested that this opportunity might be taken to make suitable explanations respecting the seizure of American vessels by his Majesty's ship Doris.

The directors recommended that the embassy or mission should consist of three members; the first, a person of rank, to be appointed by the Prince Regent; and the other two, to be Mr. Elphinstone, the chief of the factory at Canton, and Sir George Staunton, one of the members of the select committee, distinguished by his abilities, and peculiarly qualified from his knowledge of the Chinese language. All expenses attending the embassy were to

be defrayed by the East India Company, for whose interest, and at whose solicitation, it was to be undertaken.

His Majesty's ministers concurred generally in the propositions and views of the directors; the only exception was the composition of the mission, to which they deemed it more advisable to give the external character of an Embassy Extraordinary, rather than that of a Commission of Embassy. Considerations of a general and special nature probably influenced his Majesty's ministers in forming this opinion. Impression was the great instrument by which the objects of the embassy were to be obtained; this impression was to be produced by the eclat of an embassy from the Crown of England, and it was to be apprehended that the introduction of persons, however respectable or qualified, but known only in China as servants of the East India Company, into the ceremonial branch of the embassy, might have an injurious tendency. It was also felt that a renewal of the discussions with the Canton government, and their possible existence on the arrival of the intended mission,

might, from the opposition to be apprehended under such circumstances by the local authorities, prove fatal even to the reception of the embassy. At the same time the important benefits to be derived from the assistance of Mr. Elphinstone and Sir George Staunton, in all substantial intercourse with the Chinese, were fully appreciated. The appointment of an Embassador Extraordinary, furnished with general full powers to negotiate separately or conjointly with one or both these gentlemen, seemed to meet the object of their selection by the directors, and to guard against all general objections and possible embarrassment.

This modification of the original proposition being admitted by the directors, Lord Amherst was appointed Embassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, by the Prince Regent, and I was named secretary of embassy, and furnished with dormant credentials as minister plenipotentiary, to be used only in the event of the death or absence of the Embassador. My name was also introduced into the instrument of full powers, and it was understood that in

case of the absence of Mr. Elphinstone or Sir George Staunton, I was to succeed to the vacancy in the commission.

The principal objects of the embassy have been already stated; and in the instructions to the Embassador, while they were detailed, and the relative importance assigned to each, much was necessarily left to his discretion and the judgment he might form of the aspect of affairs at the moment. Permission to trade with some port to the northward, favourable to the increased diffusion of English manufactures, was the only addition to the original views of the directors.

It was impossible, with a knowledge of the circumstances attending the dismissal of the Russian embassy in 1805 from the Chinese territories, to overlook the possible contingency of a similar dispute, upon the extraordinary ceremonial of reception at the Chinese court, occurring on the present occasion; for although the precedent of Lord Macartney's embassy gave us in some degree a prescriptive right to require its renewal, there was reason to apprehend that the more general usage of the empire,

to which in fact Lord Macartney's embassy formed an exception, might be enforced.

The ceremony, consisting of nine prostrations, though not formerly without example in Europe*, was certainly repugnant to individual feeling, and to the practice of modern European courts; at the same time, viewed as an usage belonging to oriental barbarism, it could scarcely be deemed advisable to sacrifice the more important objects of the embassy to any supposed maintenance of dignity, by resisting upon such a point of etiquette, in such a scene. But as this was a question most especially dependent upon the circumstances of the moment, and the disposition of the Chinese court in other respects, it was left by his Majesty's ministers to the discretion of the Embassador, aided, as his judgment would be, by the opinion of Mr. Elphinstone and Sir George Staunton.

To all who have considered with atten-

* Prostration, or a ceremony nearly resembling it, was the established usage even of the last age of the Byzantine empire, and it was actually complied with by several of the independent princes among the crusaders.

tion the proceedings and result of the former British embassy to China, the complete success of the present embassy must seem almost impossible; some even entertain doubts of its reception; my apprehensions do not, however, extend so far; usage, and a certain degree of satisfaction at the compliment intended, will probably induce the Emperor to receive the embassy; unless, as in the case of the last Russian embassador, Count Golovkin, a dispute *in limine* upon ceremonial should prove fatal. The directors themselves, who are to be considered as the authors of the measure, almost disclaim the hope of new concessions; and although redress of grievances enters into their contemplation, yet as that involves complaints against persons possessed of influence at Pekin, success is scarcely to be expected, and ought not to be attempted without the utmost caution. Secure enjoyment of whatever privileges now exist, or more properly, stability in the regulations for conducting the trade, is the limit of all probable calculations. Should the result of the embassy be confined to a bare recep-

tion, the measure cannot be considered as having wholly failed; access will be obtained to the Emperor, and unless complaints be preferred, and redress refused, the local government of Canton cannot acquire the certainty of impunity.

The recent success of the decisive, if not desperate, measures pursued by the select committee in their disputes with the Viceroy of Canton, will, in the opinion of many, recommend a similar tone being adopted in the approaching intercourse with the court of Pekin. A striking difference in the two scenes ought not to be overlooked; at Canton the weapon wielded, the threat of stopping the trade, was at hand, and the enemy within reach; the injury inflicted, a diminution of revenue was immediate, and the tranquillity of the province might be endangered by the loss of livelihood to the numerous persons now employed in the trade. Whatever, therefore, might be the ultimate result of the contest between the factory and the Chinese government, the ruin of the Viceroy under whom it occurred was inevitable. Very different, however, are the circum-

stances under which a similar policy would be adopted at Pekin. Neither the instructions of his Majesty's ministers, nor the views of the court of directors, contemplate the reception of the embassy being compelled by threats of resenting its rejection. The principles laid down are conciliation and compliment: indeed the sole chance of success to the ulterior objects of the embassy exists in producing a favourable impression upon the mind of the Emperor; and this can only be effected by complying with the particular usages of the court and nation, as far as a due sense of our own dignity, combined with considerations of policy, will permit. It would be neither decorous nor politic to render the continuance of the ordinary commercial intercourse dependent upon the proceedings of the embassy; the hands of the Embassador are therefore unarmed; and while indefinite threats might provoke, they would certainly fail of intimidating. Ceremonial observances required, as in the case of the Dutch embassy, for the obvious purpose of reducing us to a level with missions from Corea and the

Lew-chew islands, should be refused, not only as degrading but inexpedient; however, should the reception or rejection of the embassy depend upon an adherence, on the present occasion, to the mode observed in the case of all former European embassadors admitted to an audience, except Lord Macartney, I should have no hesitation in giving up the maintenance of the single exception as a precedent, from a belief that the dismissal of the embassy, without access being obtained to the imperial presence, would be a confirmation to the present and future Viceroys of Canton, that their own interest is the only check to their extortion and injustice.

9th of July.—This evening Captain Clavell, of his Majesty's ship the Orlando, came on board, and informed the Embassador that the intelligence of an intended embassy had been well received by the Foo-yuen. Captain Clavell had communicated with Captain Hall of the Lyra, the day before; and as Lord Amherst's dispatches by the American schooner have reached Sir George Staunton some days, there is every probability that we shall

find the reinforcement from the factory assembled at the Lemma island, the place of rendezvous appointed by Captain Maxwell.

10th July, 1816.—Arrived at the Lemma islands, where we found the Lyra and the Company's cruisers Discovery and Investigator; Sir George Staunton, and the other gentlemen of the factory, were in the latter vessels. When we anchored, Mr. Toone came on board the Alceste with an apology from Sir George Staunton, who was prevented by indisposition from paying his respects to the Embassador. Mr. Toone was also the bearer of several documents and communications, of which the following is the substance:—The select committee did not, on receipt of the first intimation from the court of directors in January of an embassy being in contemplation, deem it advisable to make any communication to the local government; and indeed, the delay that occurred in the expected arrival of the Orlando, (the passage having occupied seven months) induced them to entertain doubts as to the measure being persisted in. Private ac-

counts, however, by the way of India, rendered the embassy matter of public notoriety, and moreover gave the Portuguese at Macao, and other interested persons, an opportunity to circulate reports of a malicious tendency. Under these circumstances, therefore, the supercargoes lost no time, immediately on the arrival of the Orlando, to make an official communication to the government of Canton on the subject*. The letter from the President of the Board of Control to the Viceroy, in which the embassy was officially announced, did not reach them for a few days, that document having been sent by the Thomas Grenville, which had separated during the voyage from the Orlando. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was dispatched to Canton to deliver the letter to the Fooyuen, the Viceroy himself having proceeded to Pekin. Sir Theophilus was accompanied by Captain Clavell of the Orlando, and was received with more than ordinary graciousness; an express was dispatched to Pekin on the 9th of June with

* Vide Appendix C, No. 1.

a report, and the answer was expected this day.

Two of the Hong merchants, through the medium of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, have endeavoured to dissuade Sir George from accompanying the embassy; one of them even suggested the possibility of a personal objection being made to him, and both concurred in recommending that his departure and the nature of his situation should be publicly announced. Influenced by this and other considerations, Sir George * addressed a letter to the Viceroy, announcing his appointment as commissioner, and stating the necessity of his immediate departure to join the Embassador, the advanced state of the season rendering it certain that His Excellency would proceed, without touching any where, to Tien-sing. The exact point to which Sir George might proceed was concealed from the Chinese, which was the more easy from no communication having taken place between the Lyra and the shore. Alarm, to judge from the re-

* Vide Appendix C, No. 2.

inforcements sent to the different military posts, would seem to be the predominant feeling: this must be attributed in some degree to the misrepresentations of the Portuguese. On the whole, however, the manner in which the intelligence was received at Canton, and the tranquillity with which the trade has been carried on for the last fourteen months, must be considered a favourable state of affairs.

In the evening the ships weighed, and proceeded to the island of Hong-Kong for the purpose of watering. We hope that we shall be enabled to pursue our voyage on the morning of the 12th. The situation of the watering place is picturesque. A stream of water falls down the mountains forming the island, and the casks may be filled when the tide serves, close to the beach. Surrounding projections of the land enclose a small bay, the resort of fishing vessels.

After breakfast, Sir George came on board the Alceste, and had his first interview with Lord Amherst: the principal point which occupied their attention was

the difference in the constitution of the embassy, a difference which, in Sir George's opinion, made it somewhat doubtful whether the station which he was called upon to fill in the embassy was consistent with what was due, in the eyes of the Chinese, to his previous situation of President of the Select Committee. The explanations, however, which were made by Lord Amherst removed these objections, and it was finally determined that he should accompany the embassy. Written communications between Lord Amherst and him were exchanged on the subject. Sir George did not appear to consider the present moment favourable to the objects of the embassy; the personal alarms of the Emperor, produced by the attempt to assassinate him, and the impression generally existing, that the late disturbances were fermented by religious sectaries, among whom the Christians are included, were considered by him calculated to increase the usual jealousy of foreigners, forming such a peculiar feature in Chinese policy. A catholic bishop was executed six months

since in one of the provinces, and another missionary continues under sentence of death.

On the 12th in the morning, Sir George transmitted a communication just received from Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, enclosing a letter from Mr. Robarts, informing Sir Theophilus that two of the Hong merchants had just been with him, stating from the Foo-yuen, that the departure of Sir George to join the embassy without communicating the names and ranks of the persons composing it, was highly irregular; and further requiring a strict conformity to the precedent of Lord Macartney, who had not proceeded up the Yellow Sea until the Emperor's answer had arrived. In reply the lateness of the season was pleaded, and the impossibility of controlling the actions of the Embassador. Under these circumstances, and looking to the possibility of an attempt being made to detain us, it was resolved to get under weigh at two o'clock. The determination had scarcely been formed when a fast sailing boat arrived from Macao

with a copy of the Emperor's edict* in answer to the report from the Foo-yuen, containing a declaration of his satisfaction at the arrival of the embassy, and his disposition to honour it with a most gracious reception. Mandarins had been dispatched both to Tien-sing and Chusan to await the disembarkation of the Embassador, and to conduct him to court. An arrangement suggested from Canton, respecting the dispatch of two linguists to act as interpreters, was also agreed to by his Imperial Majesty. This truly satisfactory communication removed the most serious of our apprehensions that the embassy might not have been received, and it was determined not to delay our sailing beyond the following day; it still being deemed advisable not to run the hazard of receiving an official communication from the authorities at Canton, who might possibly have received secret instructions to effect the disembarkation of the embassy at that port.

Messrs. Toone, Davis, Pearson, Morri-

* Vide Appendix C, No. 3.

son, and Manning, all more or less acquainted with the Chinese language, accompanied Sir George Staunton from Macao, and became attached to the embassy at Hong-Kong. Sir George Staunton and Mr. Morrison embarked in the Alceste, the rest of the gentlemen were accommodated in the Hewitt and Discovery. The intimate knowledge of the Chinese language possessed by Mr. Morrison, naturally pointed him out as the principal medium of future communication with the Chinese, and he was immediately employed in the translation of the Prince Regent's letter and other documents, which he executed with a facility much beyond any idea I had formed of European acquirement in this most difficult language.

We sailed at twelve o'clock on the 13th, and after beating out of the bay, stood to sea with a fair wind; passed Pedra Blanca in the morning.

The little intercourse we have hitherto had with the Chinese, gives us the impression of their being an active, lively, and intelligent people, not alarmed at strangers. The fishermen at Hong-Kong appeared more surprised at the appearance of Eu-

ropeans than their vicinity to Macao, only twenty-five miles distance, would have led us to imagine. So many European vessels were probably never before collected together in this bay, and the whole scene from the shore was highly animated. At night the number of fishing-boats, each with a light, presented the appearance of a London street well lighted, and at times the sound of the gongs accompanying the offerings to the tutelary deity of each vessel had not an unpleasant effect. It is remarkable that the dislike of Europeans is confined to Canton, and that on other parts of the coast communication is by no means discouraged. At Tinpak the chief magistrate, who had become slightly acquainted with the English from residing a short time in the house of a Hong merchant at Canton, was remarkably attentive to the officers employed on the survey in the China seas, and even offered them his assistance in their particular pursuits.

Chinese* are said to be luxurious in their

* It will be readily supposed that general observations upon Chinese manners thus early introduced can only be derived from the communications of the gentlemen of the Canton factory, who accompanied the embassy.

mode of living; eating and drinking are their great pleasures. The dinner lasts an unreasonable time, and the conversation is generally confined to the important business in which they are engaged. Drunkenness, unaccompanied with exposure, is considered a venial offence, and it is not unusual to compliment a man upon the hardness of his head or the capacity of his stomach, by saying he has a large wine measure. The more symptoms of repletion manifested by the guests after dinner, the higher the satisfaction felt by the host. The left is the place of honour, and on occasion of a dinner given by the Hong merchant Puan-Ke-qua to Sir George Staunton and the Mandarin Foo, he availed himself of the different notions entertained by Europeans and Chinese in this point, to give each the place of honour according to their respective customs, combating Foo's hesitation to take the left, by saying that if Sir George took the right, both would think themselves in the place of honour. It is said that the Hong merchants who amass fortunes, are anxious to make Mandarins of their children, exhibiting in

this instance a striking similarity with persons of the same class in our own and other countries; although in China the insecurity of official honours, and the dangers of degradation, would seem sufficient to check their ambition. Feature, complexion, dress, and religion, may be various and opposite in different countries, but the great springs of human action remain the same; and though the eye may be struck with apparent opposition, the understanding will be more surprised, and oftener called upon to notice similitudes.

Our course was too far from the coast to enable us to judge of the nature of the country: we stood near enough to the coast of Corea to give us a view of the extremity of the land*, which was named Cape Amherst. The hills near the promontory of Shan-tung were very fantastical in their shapes, and some cultivation was traced in the valleys.

On the 25th, having fairly entered the

* It turned out afterwards that this was not the coast of Corea, but an island lying upwards of one hundred miles west of its southern extremity.

Gulf of Petchelee, and being within forty-eight hours sail of Ta-koo, the expediency of dispatching the Lyra for the purpose of announcing the embassy was taken into consideration, and the measure was finally adopted, both to prevent unnecessary delays, and as a mark of proper attention to the Chinese authorities. The letter to the Viceroy communicated our approach, and transmitted a list of the persons composing the embassy*, and a general sketch of the presents, accompanied by an application for the same number of boats as had been supplied on the former occasion, viz. ten for the accommodation of Lord Amherst and his suite, and twenty for the presents, baggage, and attendants. The

* Right Hon. Lord Amherst, Embassador Extraordinary, Minister Plenipotentiary, and First Member in the Commission.

Hon. Mr. Amherst, Page to the Embassador.

Sir Geo. Staunton, Second Member in the Commission.

Henry Ellis, Esq. Third Member in the Commission.

Henry Hayne, Esq. Acting Secretary of Embassy, and Private Secretary to the Embassador.

F. Hastings Toone, Esq. J. F. Davis, Esq. Thomas Manning, Esq. Rev. Robert Morrison, Chinese Secretaries.

Rev. John Griffith, Chaplain.

number of persons in the present embassy amounts only to seventy-five, being twenty fewer than accompanied Lord Macartney; the boats will probably be more than sufficient*. Mr. Toone, who has been sent in charge of the letter, has been instructed to avoid, if possible, going on shore, as it is apprehended, that the number and insidious character of the questions likely to be put to him may prove embarrassing;

Clarke Abel, Esq. Physician to the Embassador.
Dr. Alexander Pearson, Physician to the Factory.
William Havell, Esq. Artist.
Lieut. J. Cooke, Royal Marines, commanding the Embassador's Guard.
Lieut. Charles Somerset, attached to the Guard.
Mr. James Marrige, Superintendant of Presents, Accountant, and Comptroller.
Mr. Zachariah Poole, Assistant to Mr. Abel.
Dr. James Lynn was also attached to the embassy, and without salary promised his medical assistance.
Mr. Charles Abbot, Mr. W. B. Martin, Midshipmen of the Alceste.
Servants, Musicians, Guards.

* In describing the relative ranks of Lord Amherst, Sir George Staunton, and myself, Mr. Morrison used the terms Ching-wang-chae, middle deputed person from the king; Tso-wang-chae, left hand deputed person; and Yew-wang-chae, right hand deputed person: the middle, left, and right being in the gradation of our situations.

he is, however, cautioned not to assume any appearance of mystery as to the objects of the embassy; and in the event of his being interrogated upon the subject by individuals of sufficient rank to merit an answer, to represent it as complimentary on the part of the Prince Regent to his Imperial Majesty. Should the Viceroy not be within reach, and the subordinate authorities be inquisitive as to the contents of the letter to the Viceroy, Mr. Toone was authorised to state generally its contents, and verbally to apply for the required number of boats. Questions as to the contents of the Prince Regent's letter, or the more detailed objects of the embassy, were to be met by a simple declaration of his ignorance on those points.

On the 26th, saw the islands of Meatau, and several others that had been noticed in the former navigation.

On Sunday the 28th, Lord Amherst directed the gentlemen, servants, musicians, and guard of the embassy to be assembled on the quarter deck, and there read to them an address calling their attention to

the importance, and indeed the absolute necessity of conducting themselves with sobriety and decorum during their residence in the Chinese dominions; the subject of abstaining from trade was also adverted to, and the former prohibition was repeated. At two o'clock we came to an anchor in five fathoms, the Lyra in sight at anchor to the westward. By signal we learnt that no communication had taken place with the shore. The coast of China and several junks were visible; good eyes could distinguish a building. We suppose ourselves some miles nearer in shore than the spot where the Lion anchored with Lord Macartney, but I do not apprehend that we are satisfied of our exact position with respect to the mouth of the river.

Monday the 29th.—In consequence of a signal made for a lieutenant to the Lyra, Mr. De Warris came on board the Alceste while we were at breakfast; he was the bearer of a letter from Mr. Toone to Sir George Staunton. No communication, it appeared, had taken place with the shore; but Captain Hall and Mr. Toone had boarded some fishing vessels, and had suc-

ceeded in stating to them in writing the arrival of the embassy, and the necessity of giving immediate notice to the Mandarins of Tong-koo, a town somewhat nearer than Takoo. Mr. Toone did not, however, place much reliance upon their promise to comply with his wishes. It was accordingly determined to order the Lyra to join the Alceste, for the purpose of making further arrangements as to the best mode of communicating the actual arrival of the Embassador to the Chinese authorities. Our conjectures lead us to conclude that we have outstripped the expectations of the Chinese, who have not probably calculated upon our arrival for some days; indeed our passage having only occupied fifteen days, would justify their not being prepared to receive us.

It must be a source of no ordinary satisfaction to Captain Maxwell, that the squadron should have reached the anchorage, through seas of difficult and uncertain navigation, without accident or delay. We have not experienced such heavy fogs as prevailed during Lord Macartney's voyage; but the atmosphere has been generally

hazy, and loaded with moisture to a most uncomfortable degree. During the last week the weather had been so pleasant, that we began to flatter ourselves with the hope of being within the influence of a northern climate; but the oppressive heat of the anchorage has restored us to the miseries of constant liquefaction and languor; the difference in the thermometer has been ten degrees, and this increased temperature is rendered more sensible by the denseness and moisture of the air.

Tuesday the 30th.—Captain Hall and Mr. Toone came on board, from whom we had the satisfaction of hearing that two Mandarins, the one with a white and the other with a gold button, had been on board the Lyra the preceding day, that they had taken charge of the letter for the Viceroy, to which an answer could not be received sooner than in two days. His Excellency was not at Tien-sing, but at Pao-ting-foo, the seat of government. Accounts had been received of the embassy, but they were not prepared for so early an arrival. No difficulty was anticipated in procuring the required number of boats.

Chang-oo-ay, who held an office of importance in the province of Tien-sing*, was said to be the Mandarin appointed to conduct the embassy to Pekin; his button is blue, and his rank is quite equal to that of Chou-ta-jin, the civil Mandarin employed on the former occasion. The Mandarins inquired whether we had the Emperor's picture on board, a proof that the most minute circumstance relating to the former embassy had not been unattended to. Mr. Toone had principally recourse to the Chinese character as the medium of communication both with the Mandarins and the boatmen; the former brought a native of Canton on board with them, and seemed surprised that Mr. Toone did not understand his dialect; more wonder appeared to be excited by persons not understanding, than by their speaking Chinese.

July 31st.—Four Mandarins, one with a crystal, one with an ivory, and two with

* I afterwards ascertained that his office was that of Tao-tai, or Tao-ye, answering to a governor of two towns; and that he was also charged with the superintendance of the river police.

gold buttons, came on board. The object of their visit was chiefly complimentary; they were also anxious to ascertain the number of persons composing the embassy, and the nature of the presents. It was judged right not to admit them immediately to the presence of the Embassador, and they were accordingly detained a few minutes in Captain Maxwell's cabin, where refreshments were offered to them. Their dresses were common; and certainly, their general appearance was neither respectable nor elegant: comparing them with persons of correspondent rank in Persia, Arabia, or Turkey, I should say they were inferior in outward respectability. The most remarkable part of their dress is the straw conical bonnet, with hair dyed red, hanging over it. Their complexions were dark, and their features coarse. In the course of conversation we learnt that Nay-in-ching, the Viceroy of Pechelee, had been displaced; and a Mandarin of the same name as the late Viceroy of Canton was appointed his successor; should he actually be the same person, the circumstance may prove embarrass-

ing, as he will probably be disposed to connect the present embassy with the late discussions at Canton in which he was so actively engaged. The Mandarins observed that the new Viceroy was absent in a distant province, and that a reference to Pekin would occupy ten or twelve days: these statements were possibly made as pretexts for future delay. We were given reason to expect a visit from Chong and another Mandarin of rank to-morrow. In compliance with their wishes that two gentlemen should be sent on shore to return the compliment intended by their deputation, Mr. Morrison and Mr. Cooke were directed to accompany them in the boat of the Discovery. The Emperor was not to leave Pekin for Gehol until the 10th of September.

Not having the means of serving tea round according to the Chinese fashion, cherry brandy was substituted, by no means to the dissatisfaction of the Mandarins; they rose to drink, and held the cup with both hands. Lord Amherst, at the suggestion of Mr. Morrison, gave the signal for retiring, and they departed appa-

rently pleased with their reception. The boat that conveyed them was large and decked: the sails of these Chinese boats are, in proportion to the size of the vessel, large; and though flat-bottomed, they sail fast and work well to windward; there was no cabin, but a sort of well in which the Mandarins were seated; the place for cooking was in the stern.

The delay in the Emperor's departure for Gehol may possibly shorten our stay in China, as his Majesty may desire us not to take the trouble of accompanying him; this course would, however, probably not be adopted, unless the feeling towards the embassy was unfavourable; and in this case would equally be followed, if we only arrived at Pekin three or four days before the removal of the court: it would seem, therefore, desirable to expedite our journey to Pekin by every means within our power.

1st of August.—Mr. Morrison and Mr. Cooke returned this morning; they had seen the three Mandarins appointed to take charge of the embassy. As on the former occasion, a Tartar named Kwang

held the principal situation: he wore only a crystal button, but as Chin-chae*, or imperial commissioner, he took precedence of the others. Chong had a blue button, and Yin, the military Mandarin, a red button; his rank is that of inspector general of the troops of the province. The gentlemen were conveyed in carts drawn by horses to the temple, where the Mandarins received them: they were polite and agreeable in their manners; and Mr. Morrison, making the usual deduction for Chinese hauteur, was satisfied with his reception. Nothing of much importance occurred at the interview; the principal questions related to the number of persons, and an objection was made to the guard and to the number generally†; fifty

* Chin-chae, or Kin-chae, which I have employed indifferently, both being in use, literally signifies 'sent from the court,' and should perhaps be translated 'Envoy.' The duties of the office, and the circumstance of their being performed in commission, induced me to adopt the term Imperial Commissioner. The Mandarin styled Legate by Lord Macartney was a Chin-chae, which in Latin was rendered by Legatus.

† A similar objection was made to the number of persons who accompanied the Portuguese Embassador Don Antonio Metello Souza Menezez in the last century, and an actual reduction took place before he left Canton.

was said to be the limit fixed by the Emperor. Mr. Morrison met this objection, by observing that twenty or thirty more persons could not be of any consequence to so great a monarch. A military Mandarin of high rank, who was present, readily assented to this remark. Mr. Morrison learnt incidentally in conversation that it was the intention of his Imperial Majesty to receive the Embassador, and give him his audience of leave before he set out for Gehol. It was arranged that Chang and Yin should pay their respects to the Embassador the following day, when supplies would also be sent to the ships. The Chin-chae expressed his intention of receiving the Embassador on shore.

On reference to the Pekin Red Book*, it was found that the Chin-chae is connected with the imperial family; his rank as a Mandarin is low, but his present commission gives him very high temporary dignity, as was manifested by his sitting completely separate at the conference: the other Mandarins were placed on his

* A calendar is published every year by authority, containing the names and offices of the several Mandarins.

left hand, the place of honour, and the English gentlemen on the right hand, at some distance; they dined, *à la Chinoise*, with the inferior Mandarins, who had accompanied them to the shore. The accommodations of Mr. Morrison and the other gentlemen at night in the temple were uncomfortable, nor was much disposition shewn to attend to their convenience. They did not land at the usual place, but were carried to some distance, in order to avoid taking them through the village of Tong-koo. The weather has been so unfavourable, that the Mandarins have not kept their engagement.

2nd August.—As the continued failure of the Mandarins cannot be satisfactorily accounted for from the state of the weather, the expediency of addressing them upon the subject has become matter of consideration; remonstrance would not probably have any effect, and might lead to future embarrassment: it seems, however, difficult to leave the neglect wholly unnoticed; and as the lists of persons and presents have not yet, in consequence of the Mandarins breaking their engagement,

been transmitted, a letter might be addressed to them for that purpose, and an expression of Lord Amherst's anxiety to proceed without delay to the presence of his Imperial Majesty be introduced, so as to convey to them his sense of their want of attention in forwarding this obviously important object: this measure would seem the more advisable, looking to the possibility of their being desirous to detain us here for the purpose of unreasonably shortening our stay at Pekin, and the consequent necessity on our part of having recourse to strong remonstrances to prevent a proceeding so injurious, if not offensive. In conformity with these views a letter was prepared, and it was at first proposed to dispatch it by Mr. Crawford, of the Investigator, in the morning; the weather, however, promising well for the morrow, at the suggestion of Sir George Staunton and Mr. Morrison, it was subsequently resolved to give another twenty-four hours grace to the Mandarins. Mr. Morrison on this occasion stated, that the great object of Chinese politicians was to compel their adversaries to act, that they

might thereby shape their own proceedings, and that the common rules of decency and civility would, after a certain time, oblige them to quit this apparent system of inattention, if we had sufficient patience to await that period, which could not be far distant. He further added, that they were more reluctant to incur the reproach of breach of politeness than of truth. It must be confessed that the delay looks inauspicious, and probably arises from some change or hesitation in the highest quarter. Mr. Morrison was led to argue a want of favourable disposition from what he had collected in the course of private conversation with persons on shore.

3d of August. — Weather stormy; no hopes of a visit from the Mandarins.

4th of August.—Received a visit from Chang and Yin, the two Mandarins who are to accompany the embassy: they were both preceded by their visiting tickets, composed of slips of red paper, eighteen inches long by six wide, on which their names and titles were inscribed. Yin arrived first, and was received by Captains

Maxwell and Hall, in their full uniforms, upon deck: he would not be presented to the Embassador until his colleague arrived. When Chang reached the ship, they were conducted to Lord Amherst's cabin by Mr. Morrison, where they were received by his Excellency and the two Commissioners. After the usual compliments they proceeded to make inquiries as to the number of boats that would be required for the embassy, presents, and baggage. Copies of the lists that had been transmitted to the Viceroy of Pe-che-lee were then put into their hands, and with the exception of an attempt to reckon the amount, fifty-four persons, the number passed unnoticed. They next asked what were the objects of the embassy; to which it was replied, that the intention of the Prince Regent was to manifest his regard for his Imperial Majesty, and to confirm those relations of friendship that had subsisted between their illustrious parents. On their demanding whether nothing else was intended, they were apprized that the objects of the embassy were stated in the Prince Regent's letter, and would be com-

municated to To-chong-tong, the principal minister, who was, as we had been informed, to meet us at Tien-sing. It was further explained, that a Chinese translation would be made of the Prince Regent's letter, that a copy would be given to the minister, and the original delivered to his Imperial Majesty: with this they seemed satisfied. They then adverted to the ceremony of ko-tou, or prostration, and observed that previous practice would be required to secure its being decorously performed before the Emperor; to this it was answered, that every mark of respect would on the present, as on the former embassy, be manifested towards his Imperial Majesty. Upon conferring together, it seemed that they were not really aware of what had then occurred; as the subject was however again renewed by them, it was judged advisable to cut short this premature discussion by informing them that whatever was right would be attended to. The probability of our being allowed to accompany the Emperor to Gehol was then noticed, and, as we had apprehended, it was said that the Emperor proposed

terminating all that concerned the embassy before his departure from Pekin; in reply it was simply remarked, that the longer our stay near the person of the Emperor the higher would be our gratification, and that we hoped to remain the same number of days as the former embassy; to this no direct answer was returned, and it was asked how we proposed to return, by land, or by water; the latter mode, the Mandarins said, had been adopted by some of the former embassy; it was answered that the road by Canton had been contemplated. We collected from their questions and insinuations that the intention was to dispatch us with sufficient celerity to secure our return to Tien-sing before the ships were compelled to quit the coast, or, at all events, before they had left Chusan, with a view, no doubt, to shorten our land journey. The sending of To-chong-tong* to Tien-sing looks as if some propositions of importance, more especially touching the cere-

* Chong-tong signifies Minister. I am inclined to think the term is properly Tchong-tching, signifying a faithful Minister.

mony, were to be made there; the absence of the Viceroy of the province may in some degree account for the measure, but it is much to be feared that mere provincial arrangements could scarcely require the presence of the first personage in the confidence of the Emperor: much time will evidently not be allowed for negotiation, and it is therefore desirable to effect a simultaneous discussion respecting the ceremonial and the ulterior purposes of the embassy. The tempest is gathering, and it is difficult to say whether we should carry through it, or strike our masts and make every thing snug.

The dress and appearance of Chang and Yin were not much superior to our first visitors; their manners were however more refined, and their general demeanour pleasing. One of the attendants of Chang took a very active part during the more material part of the conference; in fact, suggesting answers to his principal. In the course of conversation Chang remarked that the Emperor entertained a much higher opinion of the English than other nations, in fact, that he deemed them of importance; this was

modified by Yin, who added as a reason for this consideration, that they came from a great distance to manifest their respect. Presents of provisions were brought to the ships, consisting of the same articles as on the former embassy, but less in quantity. We were all much struck with the dexterity of the Chinese in managing their boats, which from their heaviness and great length did not seem convenient. The deck was crowded with persons from the shore, who, although anxious to examine every thing, were easily restrained in the gratification of their curiosity. Our first visitors occupied a very inferior situation, being entirely employed in superintending the safe delivery of the presents. Orders seemed to be deliberately given and punctually obeyed; we had an instance of this regularity in the necessity of a reference to the Mandarin to procure a trifling change in the original distribution of the provisions to the ships. Charcoal, plumbago, and wood for fuel, were supplied in abundance. The Chinese are well sized, but those we have seen do not seem muscular. Both the Mandarins are advanced in years, the

youngest being fifty-five. Yin brought his son, a fine boy of eleven years of age, on board with him, who readily made acquaintance with young Amherst. The boy, on being presented by his father to the Embassador, knelt down with much grace and modesty: this is the usual salutation of children to their parents, and of inferiors to superiors. We have all had reason to concur with Mr. Barrow's description of the Chinese as a frouzy people: the stench arising from the numbers on board was not only sensible but oppressive; it was the repose of putrifying garlic on a much used blanket.

5th of August.—Received a message from the Mandarins, (who had not been able to get on shore,) that boats for receiving the presents and baggage would be sent to the ships immediately. The greater part of the presents were accordingly, owing to the exertions of Captain Campbell of the Hewitt, transhipped in the course of the day. It is proposed that the boats should all proceed together, and that two Europeans should be attached to each. Mr. Morrison visited

the Mandarins on board their boats, and invited them to dinner. Yin was inclined to accept the invitation, but Chang felt himself too much indisposed; it was therefore declined. Mr. Morrison appears more satisfied with the language of Chang than of Yin; the latter affects, like other military in China, rather a boisterous, coarse manner.

6th of August.—As little confidence can be placed in the accuracy of Chinese reports, Mr. Davis has been sent on shore with Mr. Cooke to ascertain whether the boats to convey the embassy up the river are really, as the Mandarins state, in readiness; if so, we shall probably disembark on Friday. Mr. Davis returned in the evening, having had an interview with a Mandarin, whose button was light blue; from him he learnt that To-chong-tong was not, as had been proposed, to receive the embassy at Tien-sing, his presence being required at Pao-ting-foo, the provincial capital; that Soo-ta-jin, a former Hoppo of Canton, was to be substituted. This Mandarin described the Emperor as desirous of seeing the Embassador without

delay. All the river boats were ready, and well adapted for accommodation; of these three had been assigned to the Embassador and the Commissioners. The interview took place afloat; the gentlemen did not therefore go into the village; indeed no disposition was shewn to gratify curiosity. Mr. Davis was satisfied with the reception; he was saluted with three guns; the Chin-chae was not present, and as Mr. Davis had obtained all the information required, he did not deem it advisable to delay his return to the ship for the purpose of seeing him. The change in the person who is to receive us at Tien-sing is perhaps desirable, as we would readily commute the eclat of a personage of To-chong-tong's rank being employed, for the probability of no discussion, involving the very admission of the embassy, being now intended.

7th of August.—The two mandarin junks came alongside to receive the private baggage, and the gentlemen of the embassy; we commenced transhipping the baggage, but were interrupted by a change of weather. the wind blowing strong from E. by N. they

refused to receive any more packages, and stood in shore. The owner of one of these boats, who was in the habit of navigating the gulf of Leo-tung, said, that he usually made five trips in the year. They go up in ballast, and return loaded with rice; the crew have all shares in the cargo, and receive in addition one tael and a half per man (about nine shillings), and provisions. It appeared that the payment for the service in which the boat was now employed depended upon satisfaction being given, in which case the owner would be rewarded, otherwise he would be punished. On the former embassy the owners were liberally remunerated by Kien-Lung. Millet and some vegetables dressed with soy, were the principal food of the boat's crew. The praises that all travellers have given to the Chinese for regularity and arrangement are well deserved: though there be noise in their mode of loading and unloading boats, there is no confusion; every man seems to know his duty, and to execute it cheerfully. The lower orders, though curious, are by no means intrusive or impertinent; and the complaints made of their treatment of Eu-

ropeans would seem confined to Canton; here, the men in the boats, and others of the same class, appear aware of the conduct required to persons of superior station.

8th of August.—Two inferior Mandarins came on board with a visiting ticket, and a polite message, from the Chin-chae; the message contained an expression of his anxiety to receive the Embassador on shore, as the shortness of the Emperor's stay at Pekin rendered any further delay inexpedient. Some inquiries were added on the part of his Imperial Majesty, respecting the age of Lord Amherst's son, and an expression of his intention to invite him to a play. The inferior Mandarins, with the usual Chinese indifference to the comforts or station of others, pressed the immediate disembarkation of the Embassador, and proposed that the baggage should follow. The distance from the shore, the uncertainty of the weather, and the consequent inconvenience, are sufficient reasons for adhering to our original arrangement. The delay, in fact, rests with the Chinese themselves, in not keeping a sufficient number of boats within reach. Some

packages were sent in a small boat, and if a sufficient number of vessels be furnished to-morrow, the final departure will probably take place.

The expediency of the contemplated survey of the Mea-tau islands was taken into consideration, and the probability of thereby giving just ground of umbrage to the Chinese led us to incline to its being relinquished. Open letters, in Chinese, addressed to any Mandarin on the coast, were given to each of the captains of the ships, to secure them a favourable reception, in the event of their touching any where for supplies.

To prevent mistakes, a note was addressed, by Lord Amherst, to the Chinchae, explaining the causes of the delay in his disembarkation, and expressing his anxiety to have the honour of a personal interview. The Embassador further returned his thanks for the kind notice, by his Imperial Majesty, of his son.

Lord Amherst having requested the opinion of Sir George Staunton upon the subject of compliance with the Chinese ceremonial of ko-tou; Sir George put a letter

into his hands, declaring, in very distinct terms, his opinion of the injurious effects upon the company's interests at Canton likely to arise from the performance of the ceremony; incompatible, as he verbally expressed himself, with personal and national respectability. Sir George was disposed to consider the mere reception of the embassy as not worth being purchased by the sacrifice. He, however, adverted to the possibility of conditions being required by us, which, if complied with, would remove the objections; but such compliance on the part of the Chinese was, in his opinion, extremely improbable.

9th of August.—We left the ship at twelve o'clock, in the Embassador's barge, accompanied by the boats of the squadron, in two lines; between four and five we reached the small fort of Tong-koo, from whence the Embassador was saluted with three guns. Three or four hundred soldiers were drawn out on the beach; they seemed divided into companies of ten by a large flag, each soldier carrying a smaller; their dress was uniform, and at that distance their appearance respect-

able. The river here makes a complete elbow, winding round which we came in sight of Tung-koo, consisting of mud houses, and certainly not giving a high idea of the celestial empire. Lord Amherst proceeded to his boat, and immediately received a visiting ticket from the Chin-chae, in return for that which had been dispatched in advance. After the lapse of an hour the Chin-chae himself came; and if lively, affable manners be grounds of favourable augury for more important concerns, we have every reason to be satisfied. The Chin-chae confirmed the inquiries of the Emperor respecting young Amherst's age, and he himself seemed to wish to give a foretaste of the honours that awaited him, by the extreme attention which he paid him. Whether this was in consequence of the imperial inquiries, or designed as an irresistible attack upon Lord Amherst's good will, I am not prepared to determine. The Chin-chae had already informed Mr. Morrison that he intended to avoid entirely the discussion of business at this interview, and that his sole object was to pay his respects to Lord Am-

herst, and become personally acquainted with him. With the exception of general inquiry respecting the Prince Regent's letter, and the expression of a hope that both parties would be mutually accommodating, he adhered to this intention. The conversation consisted of an interchange of civilities, and appeared to leave a mutually agreeable impression. Something that fell from him in the course of the interview led Sir George and Mr. Morrison to anticipate an imperial banquet at Tien-sing. The Chin-chae was to proceed thither this evening, where he and Soo-ta-yin* would await the arrival of the Embassador. Lord Amherst deemed it right to return the Chin-chae's visit immediately, otherwise his civility must have remained unnoticed until our arrival at Tien-sing. Soo-ta-yin had been formerly Hoppo of Canton, and the Chin-chae himself appears to have been there. After dinner

* Ta-jin, or Ta-yin, literally signifies Great Man; it may be rendered by Excellency: Laou-yay answers to our Esquire or Gentleman. Chang was properly entitled only to Laou-yay, or Ta-laou-yay, although frequently complimented with Ta-yin.

we had a visit from Chang and Yin, like the Chin-chae's, merely complimentary.

10th of August.—The boats returned to the ships this morning, and left us in a state of extreme confusion: those acquainted with Chinese could neither from their situation or number be present every where, nor were the Mandarins particularly active or attentive. The presents and stores had been sent on to Tien-sing, contrary to the mutual understanding; probably for the purpose of compelling us to expedite our departure. Sir George learnt accidently from a Chinese of inferior rank, unacquainted with his person or situation, that the day of our arrival at Pekin had been fixed, allowing an unusually short period for the journey: the audience was fixed for the 22d.

I have certainly not yet observed that exuberant population usually assigned to China: the principal part of the inhabitants, including males, children, and a few females, were probably spectators of our passing, and the numbers did not exceed those of India in a similar extent. The women were in general ugly; the old,

of course, constituted the first row of spectators, and it was only occasionally that we caught a glimpse of the younger. I observed one pretty girl, and particularly admired the simplicity and good taste in which her hair was dressed; it was gathered into a knot at the top of her head, with a single flower as an ornament.

See-koo is the next town to Tung-koo, and extends some distance on the right bank of the river. A shop, where clothes and eatables were to be sold, had the sign of a junk erected on a pole before the door. The temples are poor-looking buildings, and the houses universally covered with a ridge of tiles to carry off the water.

The Mandarins, Chang and Yin, have declined a visit intended them by Lord Amherst, possibly from the necessity of immediate departure.

I was surprised with the size of the Chinese horses, having been led to expect that their height did not exceed that of small ponies; on the contrary, they were not inferior in that respect to the generality of Arab horses: they are, however, coarse and ill-shaped, and promise neither

strength nor action. The infantry are armed with swords, and the cavalry add a bow and arrows to their equipment: their saddles are heavy, but did not look inconvenient to the rider; they are not unlike the Turkish. The Chin-chae travelled in a green sedan-chair, wider than ours, but not so high: green is the colour appropriated to the chairs of men of rank. The carts on two wheels justify the complaints that have been made of them. Both banks of the river are covered with a large species of rush, and the country, as far as the eye reaches, is perfectly flat.—Three o'clock. The country improves; as we advance trees and cultivation begin to appear, and the windings of the river give an interest to the flat, which it would otherwise want. We passed about noon some tumuli, which we are told are burial grounds. The Mandarins have joined the squadron, and the number of boats, flags, and the occasional changes in their relative position, enliven the scene.

We witnessed this morning the punishment of face slapping, inflicted with a short piece of hide, half an inch thick;

the hair of the culprit was twisted till his eyes almost started from their sockets, and on his cheeks, much distended, the blows were struck: his crime was said to be robbing from the baggage-boats: the executioner, and those concerned in the punishment, seemed to delight in his sufferings.—Four o'clock. Town of Tung-jun-koo, with several mounds, containing salt, on the bank of the river.

11th of August.—The appearance of the country improves; the villages, millet and garden cultivation, are more frequent, and the small inclosures in places remind us of England. A curious effect is produced by the serpentine windings of the river; junks are seen at some distance on both sides, as if growing in the midst of the fields. My good opinion of the ordinary habits of the Chinese increases; they are orderly and good humoured to each other, and to strangers; not a single dispute has yet occurred. Most of the villages are still called Koo (Mouth), from one of the names signifying, "anciently under water;" and from the appearance of the banks we may reasonably conjecture

that the whole has been alluvial deposit. Chinese children must have a peculiar satisfaction in being dirty, as we observe them every where either sliding down the bank, or rolling themselves in mud. The hair of the women is braided into a knot, looking like a trencher-cap. They have a hobbling gait, but I have not been near enough to judge of the compression of their feet.

12th of August.—We are informed that there are five hundred trackers attached to the boats, who have all come from Takoo, (which seems to be another name for Tung-koo, the one signifying Great, the other Eastern-mouth; See, means West); they receive one hundred and fifty cash per diem, equal to one shilling English: the number of boats is twenty. In my * opi-

* My impressions upon this point are, I believe, different from those of my companions; I attribute the difference to the standard with which we compare the country and its inhabitants; they may possibly look to Europe, while I carry in my recollection the parts of Asia with which I am acquainted. The absence of clothes is particularly striking to an European eye; if the heat of the climate however be considered, it will scarcely be considered a want. On the other hand, the winter in these

nion the appearance of the people hitherto does not exhibit that squalidness of look naturally expected among an exuberant population with scanty means of subsistence.

Were there even partial elevations the scenery on the banks would not be deficient in beauty. The houses, though still built of mud, are regular, and the roofs are at least singular, if not in good taste. Every spot is cultivated, and the millet occupies the place of the rushes to the very water's edge: their gardens are particularly neat. We passed several docks for repairing junks; the boats actually in progress on the river are not numerous. Distance from Tien-sing to Takoo, two hundred and forty lees, or eighty miles. I have not yet observed any rice grounds.

No personal communication with our conductors has taken place since we left Tung-koo. I forgot to mention that the Chin-chae, in the course of conversation, had observed that he was prepared to over-

northern provinces is so severe, that the possession of clothes by the inhabitants may be inferred from the continued existence of so numerous a population.

look any erroneous expressions that might possibly arise from the Chinese language not being familiar to the Europeans; he had also expressed to Mr. Morrison his consciousness that the expression tribute * was not acceptable to us.

I yesterday evening put into Lord Amherst's hands, for his and Sir George's perusal, a memorandum respecting the ceremony. My great object in these observations has been to bring our minds to view compliance or refusal as matters of expediency, and to clear the question of all personal feelings, which might lead us into a course of proceeding not quite in unison with the sentiments of the authorities at home. I have, however, such perfect reliance on Sir George Staunton's judgment and local experience, that I shall

* In the instance of the Portuguese Embassador already mentioned, the Regulo or Prince to whom the affairs of the embassy were entrusted suggested to the missionary translating a public document, the substitution of some word for Tsin-koong or tribute-bearer, adding, that although the absurdity of supposing Europeans tributaries to the Emperor rendered the expression unmeaning, it was liable to give offence: the matter was referred to the Emperor, who decided, that the term, as being the official designation, should be retained.

not hesitate in giving way on every point connected with Chinese usages and feelings, where my individual opinion might lead to a different conclusion.

Whatever may be the notions of the superior ranks in China respecting the exposure of even the shape of the limbs, the lower orders are more indecent than any other class of people I have ever known: this cannot wholly arise from poverty, for the clothes they possess are a sufficient proof that they might, like the natives of India, attend to the requisite observances of decency.

It is very difficult to describe the exact impression produced on the mind by the approach to Tien-sing. If fine buildings and striking localities are required to give interest to a scene, this has no claims; but on the other hand, if the gradual crowding of junks till they become innumerable, a vast population, buildings though not elegant yet regular and peculiar, careful and successful cultivation, can supply those deficiencies, the entrance to Tien-sing will not be without attractions to the traveller. The pyramids of salt, covered with mats,

the dimensions and extent of which have been so ingeniously estimated by Mr. Barrow, are the most striking objects. We were two hours and a half in passing from the beginning of the line of houses on the right bank of the river to our anchorage. A salute was fired from a small fort; and nearly opposite, troops were drawn up. Among them were matchlock men, wearing black caps. We observed some companies dressed in long yellow and black striped garments, covering them literally from head to foot; they are intended to represent tigers, but certainly are more likely to excite ridicule than terror; defence, from the spread of their shields, would seem their great object. A short distance from our anchorage, we passed on our left the branch of the river leading to the canal, and thence to Canton. The excess of population was here most striking. I counted two hundred spectators upon one junk, and these vessels were innumerable. The pyramids of salt were so covered with them, that they actually became pyramids of men. Some crowds of boys remained standing above their knees

in the water for near an hour, to satiate their curiosity. A more orderly assemblage could not, however, I believe, be presented in any other country; and the soldiers had but seldom occasion to use even threatening gestures to maintain order. I had not before conceived that human heads could be so closely packed; they might have been by screws squeezed into each other, but there was often no possible vacancy to be observed. All these Chinese spectators were exposed, bare-headed, to the rays of the mid-day sun, when the thermometer in the shade stood at eighty-eight. Females were not numerous in the crowd, and these generally old, and always of the lower orders. The Chinese are, to judge from the inhabitants of Tien-sing, neither well-looking nor strongly made; they are rather slight, but straight, and of the middle height.

Lord Amherst had scarcely anchored when he was invaded by a party of Mandarins, among whom were, I believe, Chang and Yin, to announce that Soo-ta-jin and the Chin-chae intended to visit him. Lord Amherst requested that they

would wait a few minutes, until he had arranged his dress; to which they assented, but subsequently sent word that they would defer their visit until the morrow, not having their proper dresses at hand; they further requested that the gentlemen who understood Chinese might be sent to them. After dinner, Messrs. Toone, Davis and Morrison went to the Koon Kooan or public hall, where the Mandarins were assembled. The gentlemen considered themselves as having been politely received. The nature of the presents, the contents of the Regent's letter, and the probable stay of the embassy at Pekin, were adverted to in the conversation: a confident expectation was expressed by the Mandarins that they would be furnished with a copy of the letter, and they attached no importance to the observation that it had not, on the former occasion, been given till the Embassador arrived at Gehol. The expectation of our remaining any length of time at Pekin was almost instantly combated; the mode in which the five or six days were to be employed was mentioned, and a return by the way of

Tien-sing was alluded to. In speaking of the presents, they described them as what they call tribute, and we presents. A remark relating to the incivility of hurrying us away after so long a voyage, was met by pointing out the honour conferred upon the embassy, by having such great men appointed to attend us. Soo-ta-jin and Kwang-ta-jin having again changed their minds, sent to inform Lord Amherst that they proposed paying their visit immediately. They accordingly came, and after some general conversation and mutual compliments, Sou-ta-jin, who had been Hoppo at Canton when Lord Macartney arrived there, having observed that a young gentleman had also accompanied the former embassy, Sir George Staunton took that opportunity of recalling himself to Soo's recollection, and a pleasant, friendly recognition took place.

Kwang then addressing Mr. Morrison, requested to see a copy of the letter. Lord Amherst in reply desired Mr. Morrison to say, that it had always been his intention to present a copy to the minister, some days before its actual delivery to the Em-

peror. They then observed that in all probability the Embassador would have no communication with the minister, as they themselves had been expressly commissioned to conduct all the affairs of the embassy, and that they had a special edict from the Emperor to transmit a copy of the letter. This statement certainly excited some surprise from the circumstance of the minister being the natural, and having been, on the former occasion, the actual medium of communication. Lord Amherst, however, resolved to defer giving an answer till to-morrow, when he proposed to return their visit. The Mandarins said that the Emperor had been graciously pleased to order an entertainment to be given to his Lordship, and nine o'clock was fixed upon as the most convenient hour.

An allusion having early in the interview been made to a speedy departure for Pekin, Lord Amherst declared his readiness to proceed, and said that he only awaited the arrival of the junks, containing some part of his baggage absolutely indispensable. The conduct of the Chinese in

sending on the junks with the presents and stores to Tong-chow was highly uncivil, and would have justified a serious remonstrance. On taking their leave, Kwang-ta-jin said that he would in the morning furnish Lord Amherst with a written statement of every thing connected with his reception at Pekin, his stay, and the mode in which his time would be employed.

The propriety of complying with the wishes of the Mandarins respecting a copy of the Regent's letter being put into their hands, was now taken into consideration. Although they had, with the usual Chinese contempt for truth, asserted that on the former occasion a similar proceeding had been adopted, reference to Lord Macartney's journal soon confirmed our recollections of the contrary being the fact. As far, therefore, as precedent was concerned, they had no claim; and indeed their early requisition on this point ought perhaps to be viewed as an important branch of that system of indecent hurry with which they seem resolved to treat the embassy. The appointment of Soo-ta-jin may, on the other hand, be said to give them only a

claim somewhat less than the minister himself would have had. He is a Mandarin of very high rank, is styled Shelang *, and is a president or superior of the tribunal of public works, and having been formerly Hoppo, may, from his supposed knowledge of European affairs, be really intended to superintend the affairs of the embassy throughout. Although their assertion of their having such appointment may be totally unfounded, and only made with a view of deceiving us into premature confidence, yet as no real injury can arise from compliance, it was finally resolved to accede to their request.

The next question was, whether an official note, which had been prepared, explaining shortly the principal points connected with the trade which we had to propose, should also be confided to them. If the minister had met us at Tien-sing, it had been resolved to put this note into his

* She-lang signifies a President; Sheou-see-ang is the President of the Council in the confidence of the Emperor. I am not quite certain which of these two titles belonged to Soo; if President of one of the great tribunals, he is of the same rank as the Mandarin appointed to conduct the Portuguese embassador.

hands, as much to explain the last paragraph of the Prince Regent's letter, as to gain time for negotiation. Unless the description of their own powers were correct, it would not seem politic voluntarily to put ourselves into their hands; and yet, if the particular paragraph was liable to misapprehension, it did not seem advisable to delay explanation to persons who were certainly, for the time, the principal authorities with whom we had to communicate. Our decision was, therefore, to comply with their wishes respecting the letter, to give verbal explanations if required, and, finally, if their conduct or further information should justify confidence, either personal or official, to entrust them with the note intended for the minister.

The palace of the Emperor, on the opposite bank of the river, if not a magnificent, is certainly a picturesque building. The surrounding colonnade of wooden pillars gives it an elegant appearance, and the roofs, though singular in shape, being arcs of circles with the extremities turned upwards, have an effect not unpleasing.

13th of August.—At a quarter before ten we left our boats and proceeded in chairs to the Hall, where we were to be received. The band and the guard, with Lieutenants Cooke and Somerset, preceded the Embassador's chair, Mr. Morrison and his Excellency's son followed, then the Commissioners, and afterwards the other gentlemen; the order was most regularly kept, and we arrived without interruption at the Hall, a long building supported by light wooden pillars. At about one-third of the room, before a skreen, a table with yellow silk hanging before it met our eyes, a symptom of the discussion that awaited us. The Mandarins were all in their robes of ceremony, principally of civil orders.

After a few polite expressions of their hope that we had met with no obstruction on our way thither, Kwang-ta-jin opened the subject of the ceremony by saying, that the entertainment which we were that day to receive was expressly commanded, and, indeed, given by the Emperor; that, therefore, the same ceremonies would be performed by them, and expected from us, as if we were in the Imperial presence. Lord

Amherst replied, that he was prepared to approach his Imperial Majesty with the same demonstrations of respect as his own sovereign. They then specifically mentioned the ko-tou as the ceremony that would be required. Lord Amherst declared his intention of following, in every respect, the precedent established by Lord Macartney.

The Chinchaes argued in reply, that in fact our former Embassador had done every thing in point of ceremony that had been required of him, and especially had performed the ceremony of the ko-tou, as well in the presence of the Emperor as at other times; Soo-ta-jin said, he himself remembered his having performed it when at Canton; and they then both appealed to Sir George Staunton as having been present, and able to give evidence of the facts which they had asserted.

To such a falsehood it would have been easy to have given a very short and decided answer; but as it was sufficiently obvious that the question was not put to Sir George with any view of really ascertaining the truth, but evidently for the

purpose of making it a personal question, which could only lead to mutual irritation and offence, it was deemed most advisable, both by Lord Amherst and myself, that Sir George should avoid the discussion into which they were desirous of drawing him, by observing that the Embassador's information of what had taken place on the occasion of the former Embassy was derived from the authentic records which had been presented to our Sovereign by Lord Macartney on his return, and on which records our present instructions were also grounded; but that as to his (Sir George's) opinion or evidence respecting a fact which had occurred twenty-three years ago, when he was a child of twelve years of age, it was quite improper and absurd to ask it, or to suppose it could be of any weight in deciding a question already settled upon much higher authority.

A haughty tone was here assumed by the Mandarins, who said, that they supposed it was the intention of the Embassador to please his Imperial Majesty, that the ceremony was never dispensed with, and that it was not becoming that they

should perform a ceremony on this occasion which the Embassador refused. Lord Amherst had no hesitation in expressing his anxiety to shew every respect, and give every satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty, consistent with his duty to his own Sovereign; and that from this feeling it was his intention to approach the Imperial presence with the same demonstrations of veneration as he would his Britannic Majesty; that such had been the conduct of Lord Macartney, and such were the instructions of his Sovereign on the present occasion. Some expression here fell from them, tending to convey an opinion that the Embassy would not be received. It was then said by Lord Amherst, that however mortifying it might be to his feelings, he must decline the honour intended him by the entertainment, and that he should be prepared, on his arrival at Pekin, to submit the reasons of his refusal, in writing, to his Imperial Majesty. What! reject the Emperor's bounty? observed the Mandarins. His lordship again repeated his regret and his last proposition, which was positively rejected by them.

An appeal was then made to Lord Amherst's paternal feelings, and it was asked, whether he would be so wanting in affection, as to deprive his son of the honour of seeing the Emperor. Much of the same ground was repeatedly gone over on both sides. The certain displeasure of the Emperor, and the actual compliance of Lord Macartney, were repeatedly urged by the Mandarins; the latter position was again strenuously denied by Lord Amherst, and the commands of his Sovereign were pleaded and pressed as the ground of refusal.

Finding that nothing was to be gained, a disposition to yield was manifested by the Mandarins, and they rested their case upon the great personal responsibility they should incur by acceding to the Embassador's proposal; they asserted that they dared not report such a circumstance to the Emperor. Lord Amherst observed in reply, that he could not possibly anticipate the Emperor's being dissatisfied with the same demonstrations of respect that had been accepted by Kien-Lung, his illustrious father. They then declared, that the Em-

peror Kien-Lung had been much displeased, and that the princes and nobles had considered it most extraordinary that they should prostrate themselves, while the English remained standing. His Lordship answered, that his object was to combine a proper manifestation of respect to his Chinese Majesty with the duty he owed his own Sovereign, and the positive commands he had received upon the particular point; that whatever might be the particular ceremony performed, the respect he felt in his heart for his Imperial Majesty could not be thereby augmented. The Mandarins observed, that the feelings of the heart were best shewn by actions, and that Lord Amherst's refusal evinced a deficiency in proper sentiments of veneration.

Soo-ta-jin, who had hitherto only interfered to assert positively, from his own knowledge, the compliance of Lord Macartney with the ceremony both at Pekin and Canton, now entered fully into the whole question, observing that our trade at Canton might materially suffer from the displeasure of the Emperor: another re-

mark was made respecting the possible anger of his Imperial Majesty towards the king of England; this observation Mr. Morrison very properly refused to interpret. At length they said, that they would not insist upon the performance of the ceremony on the present occasion, but that they threw the responsibility of the consequences upon Lord Amherst, and that they could not pretend to say whether the embassy or presents would be received, adding, that it would be well to consider the discredit among other nations which such a dismissal would reflect upon our own country. Lord Amherst declared, that the consciousness of obeying his Sovereign's commands would relieve him from all uneasiness; that what he proposed to do, namely, to make a bow before the table, was the same honour that was paid by the members of the Chief Council of the nation, to which he belonged, before the vacant throne of the Sovereign, and that more ought not to be expected from him.

The point was here finally given up; and

Lord Amherst, in expressing his satisfaction, said, that to evince the sincerity of his disposition to conciliate, he would, although it was customary only to bow once before the throne of his own Sovereign, not hesitate to make as many bows, on the present occasion, as they did prostrations: the Chinese, with characteristic illiberality, endeavoured to graft upon this voluntary concession a demand that Lord Amherst should kneel upon one knee; this proposition was, of course, resisted, and the discussion seemed about to be renewed, when they abandoned their position, and we proceeded to the hall of reception, the conference having taken place in an inner apartment, Lord Amherst, his son, the Commissioners, and Mr. Morrison, being present. When at the door, Kwang in a friendly manner entreated us to reconsider the consequences that might result. It was observed that there was no necessity for reconsideration or consultation, as we had no option.

On entering the Hall we placed ourselves before the table, the front of which was covered with yellow silk, and a lighted

censer placed upon it. We * bowed nine times, in unison with the prostrations of the Mandarins: Soo-ta-jin, Kwang-ta-jin, and six others, went through the ceremony. The upper part of the Hall was raised a step, and in this compartment the two chief Mandarins, Lord Amherst, his son, and the Commissioners seated themselves; the two Mandarins being on the left, all the other Chinese were seated below them on the same side, and the gentlemen of the embassy opposite: a handsome dinner, in the Chinese style, was then served, accompanied by a play; but of these hereafter.

When dinner was over we returned to the inner apartment. After taking our seats, Kwang-ta-jin observed it was not well, and declared his fear of the Emperor's displeasure. Lord Amherst again repeated his conviction that the Emperor could not

* The ceremony of prostration was dispensed with in the instance of the Chevalier Le Roque, commanding the French frigate Amphitrite, at an imperial banquet, given by the Viceroy of Canton; the Mandarins performed the ko-tou, and the Chevalier only bowed profoundly. This occurred in the year 1669.

be dissatisfied with his having paid the same homage that he addressed to the throne of his own Sovereign. The ceremony to be performed in the presence of the Emperor was now brought forward by the Mandarins. Lord Amherst then distinctly stated his intention to kneel upon one knee, and make his obeisance in that posture; he added, that the practice at the English court was to kiss the Sovereign's hand. At this latter circumstance they, as was expected, shook their heads, and made some faint attempts to renew the general discussion; the determination that was manifested, however, induced them to desist, and they merely affected not to understand the ceremonial proposed by Lord Amherst, which was again explained, but without effect. They then proposed that his Excellency should at the moment go through it; he replied that it could not be performed by him before any other person but the Emperor; they observed that their wish was not that he should then perform it to any one, but merely that from seeing it actually gone through, they might be able to make a more accurate

report to his Imperial Majesty. Sir George Staunton then happily suggested, that Lord Amherst's son should perform the proposed ceremony before his father. Chinese usage was so completely in accordance with this manifestation of respect from a son to his father, that every difficulty or objection to any previous practice by Lord Amherst was removed, and the proposition was instantly admitted. The Chinese did not appear dissatisfied with the appearance of the ceremony thus performed, but said that kissing the hand would not be allowed. Lord Amherst, of course, did not object to the omission. The number of times was then discussed, and Lord Amherst stated that once was the usage of the English court; that he had been induced to bow nine times before the table from a feeling that his remaining standing, while they were in the act of prostration, would not have had a good appearance: but that his demonstration of respect was not, in his opinion, increased by the repetition; should however they, or other high officers of state, be present at the audience with the Emperor, he should

not hesitate to repeat his bows as often as they did prostrations. The Mandarins said, that none but his Lordship, and the gentlemen then present, would be called upon to perform the ceremony at the audience, and that a repetition of nine times would be expected. Lord Amherst replied, that to shew his disposition to gratify the Emperor he was ready to consent to his wishes in this respect; although he must again repeat, that the respectful character of the ceremony was not, to his feelings, in the least heightened. The Mandarins then proposed that Mr. Amherst should practise the ceremony nine times before them; to this Lord Amherst objected, considering it too serious a business to be trifled with: the precise mode of the ceremony having been again distinctly stated, the discussion closed. Lord Amherst then took an opportunity of expressing his satisfaction at its termination, and his personal gratification at the kindness and attention they had shewn him. They replied, that they had merely obeyed the orders of his Imperial Majesty.

The Mandarin, who apparently held the

office of secretary, and who had taken a principal share in the conference, here alluded to the Regent's letter, and renewed the request of having a copy submitted to them. Lord Amherst, as had been previously determined, delivered the copy, in a sealed envelope, to the Imperial Commissioners. The seal surprised them, till informed that the cover was addressed in English to their Excellencies; they did not proceed to examine it at the time, which was certainly fortunate, as it rendered any explanation unnecessary.

Thus closed these two conferences; that before dinner highly important in its immediate result, as we had the satisfaction of having successfully resisted the very demand which mainly contributed to the failure of the Russian Embassador, and to his return from the frontier. Whatever might be the opinion entertained respecting the expediency of complying with the Chinese usage in the presence of the Emperor, either with or even without equivalent, there could be none as to the ceremony this day proposed; the only precedent of compliance was that of the last Dutch

embassy; the treatment throughout experienced by the members of that mission, and the innumerable causes of repetition, under the most degrading circumstances, and on the most trifling occasions, that were devised by the Chinese, must sufficiently establish the expediency of resistance. With this view the minds of Lord Amherst and those who acted with him were made up, to have hazarded the reception of the embassy upon the point; and the expression of inflexibility communicated by this previous resolution to their countenances and manner, had, no doubt, considerable influence upon the Mandarins. The Chinese are great physiognomists, and there is therefore no class of people with whom it is more advisable to put a good face upon a business. A certain advantage in the second conference was derived from a misapprehension by the Mandarins of the general objects of Lord Amherst's reasoning in the previous discussion; they considered that all the observations then made, and the substitution of bowing for prostration, applied equally to the ceremony to be performed

in the presence of the Emperor, and they were naturally led into this error from the fact that they themselves make no distinction; they were therefore agreeably surprised when informed of the real intention; and a remark made by Lord Amherst, that the mode in which he proposed to manifest his respect to the Emperor of China was one which he would not adopt towards any Sovereign in Europe, appeared to have great weight with them. On the whole they seemed satisfied, and although they did not express any hope of the Emperor accepting the proposed ceremony, or retract their dread of the consequences of Lord Amherst's refusal, their manner justified favourable conclusions; indeed their renewed request of a copy of the Regent's letter was an important circumstance, as it marked their belief that the progress of affairs had not been interrupted by the occurrences of this day.

We had an instance of the unblushing effrontery and falsehood of the Chinese in their appealing to Sir George Staunton for the truth of their assertion that Lord Ma-

cartney had complied with the ceremony both at Pekin and Canton, although they must have been perfectly aware of the contrary. The probable motives of the Mandarins have been already stated, and they were perhaps anxious to obtain a direct contradiction from Sir George, that they might be enabled to attribute our resistance entirely to his suggestions; indeed some insinuations of this tendency were thrown out: at last, however, they were particularly satisfied with Sir George, to whom they appeared to think themselves in some measure indebted for such concessions as were made by the Embassador.

In passing through the streets it was impossible not to be struck with the silence and regularity of the crowds of spectators; although every countenance expressed curiosity, scarcely an observation was made; there was no pointing with fingers; and though the streets may be said to have been lined with soldiers at inconsiderable intervals, the exercise of their authority did not seem necessary to maintain tranquillity. The streets were narrow, regular, and paved with large stones,

brought from some distance. Whatever taste belongs to Chinese architecture seems chiefly directed to the roofs; the pediments are in general elegant and highly decorated. Dwelling-houses were of one story, built of solid brick work. We crossed a bridge, over the river, the surface of which was scarcely visible from junks.

In the Hall of reception itself there was little to remark; indeed it had altogether the appearance of a temporary erection. We dined at the upper end, and the lower was occupied by the stage. Chinese dinners, with the succession of dishes served upon trays, one of which is placed before one or two persons, according to their rank, have been so accurately described, that I shall not pretend to enter into any detail. The custard, and the preserved fruits with which the dinner commenced, were very palatable: I cannot say that I much liked the bird-nest's soup, it was too gelatinous and insipid for my taste; nor did the various additions of shrimps, eggs, &c. improve the compound: the shark fins were not more agreeable. The Chinese eat as

well as drink to each other; and a Mandarin, who stood behind us, regulated the times of commencement, both in the dishes and cups of wine. The wine was heated, and had not an unpleasant flavour; it is not unlike Sherry. The dresses of the actors, and the stage decorations, were very splendid, and there was noise and bustle enough to satiate the eyes and ears; even those who understood Chinese were not able to trace any story in the performance, which seemed to be more of the nature of a melo-drama than comic or tragic representation. The part of a stag was the best performed in the piece, and when in front of the stage, from the shelter afforded by a group of flag-bearers, and the consequent concealment of the boy's legs, illusion was sufficiently perfect. The instrumental music, from its resemblance to the bagpipes, might have been tolerated by Scotchmen, to others it was detestable. Of the same description was the singing. Our admiration was justly bestowed upon the tumblers, who yield to none I have ever seen in strength and agility; their feats were

executed with particular neatness. In splendour of appearance, the Mandarins did not stand any competition with the actors, who were blazing with gold; it was suggested that their costumes were the ancient habits of the nation.

The dress of ceremony of the Mandarins, consisting of blue gauze or crape with some flowered satin beneath, is plain, and not unbecoming; an embroidered badge, marking their rank, whether civil or military, is fixed upon their robe before and behind. The peacock's feather, or more properly tail of peacock's feather, answering to our orders of knighthood, is worn behind; two of these decorations are equivalent to the garter. The momentary rank of the person is not to be ascertained from his mandarin ornaments. A Mandarin with a white button sat next to the Chinese commissioners with only the intervention of a pillar, while one in a clear blue button sat below him, and one with a peacock's feather walked about the court the whole time of the conference. The commission of present office would seem to fix the immediate rank.

There was no sign of extreme poverty among the people in the streets; on the contrary, the majority were clean and decently dressed, and their appearance bespoke them to be well fed; some of the younger were not ill looking.

As usual, the provisions remaining from the feast were sent after us, certainly more tempting than the varnished cold meats that had been supplied the day before. Presents of silks and cloths were given to the members of the embassy, the attendants, and soldiers, according to the rank of each individual, in the Emperor's name. The description of Lord Amherst's son in the list of those present, styling him the Embassador's heir, combined with the attentions that are paid to him, he being evidently considered the second person in the embassy, convinced me that the Chinese have a very high notion of hereditary rank.

In the evening we went over the building near our anchorage, where the Mandarins were collected yesterday; it had been a public library, but was now used as an inn for officers of government; the

exterior of the roof, particularly the pilasters at the extremities, were richly ornamented with carved work. There were two columns *, oblong shaped, in the small enclosure, one of which rested upon the figure of some animal resembling a tortoise; the purport of these columns we could not learn, it only appeared that they had been erected by individuals. On our way to the hall we passed under some gateways, which I conclude are the triumphal arches so pompously described by travellers.

Lists of the number of officers and men on board the ships were required by the Chinese for the probable purpose of making the customary presents. In the statement of persons composing the embassy, the Chinese word Peeteshee, used for secretary, was objected to, as being appropriated to an office under the Tartar government, and a word of nearly the same signification was substituted. Our good opinion of Kwang-ta-jin has not diminished; he certainly did not aggravate

* These stones are called She-pi in Du Halde, and are commemorative either of Imperial favours conferred, or of individual worthiness.

the disagreeable nature of the discussion by any unpleasantness of manner, but affected to employ friendly persuasion.

14th of August.—We left Tien-sing at day-light. There was rather a handsome stone bridge over a branch of the river to the left, the other bridges we saw were wooden. This day's journey has been remarkable for the prodigious number of junks at anchor which we have passed; the line has literally extended, without intermission, from Tien-sing; they are loaded with grain, from the different provinces, which forms part of the Imperial revenue. Some are said to come from a great distance. The devices on the stern look like escutcheons. Villages and guard-houses are situated at no great intervals upon the banks; and as the junks are all inhabited, there has been no chasm in the continuous population: the general appearance and looks of the people certainly improve as we advance towards the capital. Fields cultivated with hemp have been frequent. The guard-houses are in general small square brick buildings with embrasures. One which we passed was

circular, with low abutments; the walls were white, and adorned with grotesque representations of animals. All the junks are anchored in regular lines, the sternmost having its head just before the poop of the foremost; the whole line resembles an echellon. A large town where the line of corn junks commenced is called Petsang*, or the northern granary. The capacity of these vessels is not actually more than one hundred and eighteen tons, though their hull, above water, is as large as a ship of three hundred tons. I remarked several large projecting frames, and on inquiry was informed that they were used for drying clothes; if so, the Chinese must be more cleanly in their dress than I had given them credit for†. The distance has been fifty-six lees, or nineteen miles.

Mr. Morrison, in the course of the day, had visits from the Mandarins who assisted

* The first syllable Pe is north, and is said to be the appellation of the river hitherto called Pei-ho or White river.

† In Persia as well as China, it is not unusual to wear cotton clothes unwashed, till they fall to pieces.

at the conference yesterday; their inquiries seem to have been directed to the persons composing the embassy. They appeared surprised that Sir George's christian name Thomas (being that which he bore on the former embassy) had not been mentioned. Mr. Morrison explained to them that Thomas was the name which he had borne in his childhood, and that the other was his present appellation; as this agreed with Chinese notions, they were satisfied. They mentioned a report from Canton, that Sir George was not the second person in the embassy, and that the other commissioner was next in rank to the Embassador. Mr. Morrison of course informed them that the statement was incorrect.

In the evening Soo-ta-jin and Kwang-ta-jin paid Lord Amherst, Sir George, and myself, separate visits: the leading points of yesterday's discussion respecting the ceremony were gone over by the Mandarins with Lord Amherst, in a more confidential manner; they expressed strong doubts as to the Emperor's being satisfied, and talked much of what had been his gracious intentions towards the present embassy; they

noticed the appointment of Soo-ta-jin as a proof that his Imperial Majesty had been disposed to treat Lord Amherst with greater consideration than the former Embassador. Lord Amherst repeated the several arguments that had been before used, and added that a single bow would be the obeisance which he should have paid on a similar occasion to the Emperor of Russia or to any European sovereign; in point of fact, therefore, the ceremony that had been proposed was confined to his Chinese Majesty. This observation seemed to have some weight with them; the allusion to Russia, however, gave them an opportunity of remarking, that the last Russian embassy had returned without an audience, in consequence of the Embassador refusing compliance upon this very point. Lord Amherst, on this occasion, complied with their request to see the box containing the Prince Regent's letter; and although they evinced all the outward signs of childish gratification at the sight of a splendid bauble, they did not commit themselves to any expression of admiration. Much friendly conversation on indifferent subjects

ensued between the Mandarins and his lordship, during which they seemed to have lost no opportunity of pressing their principal object; they remarked that the probability of the Emperor's assenting to Lord Amherst's proposition was as one to ten thousand. The copy of the Prince Regent's letter was returned by the Mandarins, who declared that they dare not read it with its present address of Sir, My Brother; we indeed might venture to do so, but that they recommended the expression being omitted altogether; there were some other verbal alterations proposed of little importance.

In the interview of Sir George Staunton with the Mandarins, the question of the ceremony was also alluded to, and they asked Sir George Staunton what he would say, if the Emperor called upon him for his evidence, as to the fact of Lord Macartney's compliance. Sir George very judiciously replied that he was a child at the time, and that his recollection could be of no value. He took this opportunity of conveying to them his private opinion, that the commands of his Sovereign were

too positive to admit of Lord Amherst's complying with the ceremony, and that perseverance in pressing the point must be ineffectual; he also dwelt upon the concessions already made, and expressed his hope of the Emperor's being satisfied. The Mandarins, in their communication to Sir George, held out a greater probability of the Emperor's assent than they had done to Lord Amherst, and returned their personal thanks to him for his assistance the preceding day, to which they were disposed to attribute whatever concessions had been made by the Embassador. Their visit to myself was very short, and passed in mere complimentary expressions. The omission of the address in the Prince Regent's letter appears to me of little consequence; it does not occur in the original, but in a translation; and as no substitution of less respectful expressions is proposed, the dignity of our Sovereign does not seem anywise committed.

I cannot but regret this inevitable multiplication of subjects of ceremonial discussion, for I consider every victory upon these points as a diminution of the chances

of success upon the more material objects of the embassy. Whether any negotiation upon these would ever be allowed, is certainly doubtful; but the time employed in contending for the manner in which the embassy is to be received, and the temper generated by even successful inflexibility, are not calculated to dispose the mind of the Emperor, or of his ministers, to listen favourably to propositions in which they do not see any reciprocal advantage.

In considering the question of ceremony, I must still distinguish between prostration in the actual and in imaginary presence: the treatment of the last Dutch embassy, and the facility of its repetition, upon the most trifling occasions, are sufficient arguments against the latter; but my mind will feel far from satisfied, should the fate of the embassy be decided by a refusal of the former.

The number of large junks which we have passed may be estimated at between fourteen and fifteen hundred; and I should say, that next to the exuberance of the population, the amount of vessels em-

ployed on the rivers is the most striking circumstance hitherto observed, belonging to the Chinese empire.

Chang, in a conversation with Mr. Morrison, expressed an opinion, that we held the military in higher estimation than civil employment. He probably has acquired this notion from the frequency of our European wars, for no circumstance has arisen which could have led him to form the conclusion from his own observation. We anchored at night, as it is no longer an object with our conductors to hurry us, they being naturally desirous to receive the answer to their report of the occurrences at Tien-sing, before the embassy makes any considerable progress.

15th of August.—The breakfast hour found us at Yang-soong, or Yun-tsin, mentioned in the former embassy; the distance is ninety-one lees from Tien-sing. Chang and Yin sent a message to Lord Amherst saying, that they would call on him at eleven o'clock; they did not, however, come till near two o'clock, when a conversation respecting the ceremony took

place. They admitted, on this occasion, the fact of Lord Macartney having been received, at his first audience, according to the European manner; but asserted, that on the Emperor's birth-day he had performed the ko-tou. Lord Amherst denied the latter part of their assertion, and observed, that he proposed to do as much at his first audience as Lord Macartney had performed on the Emperor's birth-day; and that, in fact, there being so little difference between the ceremonies, he was not surprised at the belief entertained that Lord Macartney had gone through the Tartar obeisance. Kwang and Soo shortly after arrived, and the commissioners having joined Lord Amherst, the Mandarins requested that the room might be cleared, and with much formality they informed us that an edict had that day arrived, in which objections, written in red ink by the Emperor's own hand, had been made to the band, and that consequently they must be sent back, adding, that in fact they were not necessary. Our surprise was excited by this unaccountable objection to a part of the suite, which on

the former occasion appeared to have rather given satisfaction to the Chinese themselves; and it was impossible not to suppose that it was only the first in a series of trivial exceptions, that were about to be taken to the embassy. Lord Amherst, therefore, in reply, expressed his astonishment that this objection should, only now, have been made to persons whose occupation was perfectly innocent, and for whose good behaviour he was himself responsible; that a band had accompanied the former embassy, and, indeed, constituted an essential part of the splendour required on such occasions. Kwang-ta-jin then said, that his friendly disposition towards us had led to his committing himself in the first instance; that the number of persons to accompany the embassy had been limited by the Emperor to fifty, but that he had taken upon himself to permit the disembarkation of seventy-five; that he should have had no difficulty in obtaining the Emperor's pardon for having exceeded his powers in this instance, had the Embassador been more complying on the subject of the ceremony; but under a doubt

of what might be the Emperor's determination upon that point, and a dread that his Imperial Majesty should be offended with our resistance, he could not but feel extremely uneasy for the consequences to himself. Lord Amherst expressed his regret that any personal inconvenience should arise to the Chin-chae from his friendly conduct, but declared the impossibility of his consenting to abandon persons of perfectly good conduct, to the mortification and discomfort of being separated from their countrymen at this advanced period of the journey; had the objection been made before the disembarkation, the same difficulties could not have existed to compliance.

The Mandarins then sent for the edict, from which it appeared that the objection was made specifically to the band, and not to the number of persons. The edict was addressed by the nine counsellors*, whose office is to superintend military affairs, but

* I am inclined to think that the council here alluded to is the nui-yuen, represented, by Du Halde, as composed of the ko-laos, or ministers, the assessors to the tribunals, and the Emperor's secretaries.

who are frequently summoned on transactions relating to Europeans, to Soo-ta-jin, and took very serious notice of the expression "peeteshee," and directed its alteration; the manner of the reception, and the number of persons to be admitted to the audience, was also stated. Only four persons, the Embassador, his son, commissioners, were to be admitted to the audience: twelve other gentlemen were allowed to be present at the entertainment. The remark written in red ink was, "The band may be spared; let them therefore return to the ships, and wait the Embassador's arrival." Kwang-ta-jin, after the contents of the edict had been communicated, said, that there was no possibility of disobedience, the commands of the Emperor were specific, and must be acted upon: he added, that if the Embassador was tenacious of the orders of his Sovereign, he was not less so of the edict of the Emperor; and that the refusal to perform the ceremony had rendered it impossible for him to take any further responsibility upon himself. Lord Amherst could not conceive, that when the circum-

stances were fairly represented to his Imperial Majesty, the objection would be persevered in. Much of the former reasoning was gone over on both sides, and the Mandarins, recollecting that it was our dinner-time, rose to depart.

At one o'clock this day we passed a very prettily situated pavilion of the Emperor's on the northern bank. The roof was covered with yellow tiles, and had a dazzling effect in the sun. The river here divides itself into branches, and there appeared an embankment across that to the north-east.

In the evening we were again summoned by Lord Amherst to a conference with the Mandarins. They commenced by inquiring from Lord Amherst what had become of the ships, and said that a supply of provisions had been sent to them, but that, by the last accounts, it appeared that they were not visible from the shore. Lord Amherst replied that he could not possibly pretend to say whether the ships had left the coast; that the captain had received specific instructions from his own government, which he would of course obey. They then inquired whether Lord Amherst

had given him any orders; the Embassador said that he had not, and therefore applied to them for information. They answered that the ships must have left on the 20th of the moon, that the Embassador must have been aware of their intention, and that his not having communicated it was highly improper. Lord Amherst said, that since his landing no question had been put to him upon the subject; on board ship indeed, the deputed Mandarins had inquired by what route he intended to return from Pekin; his answer had been, that it was of course his intention to return by whatever route the Emperor might direct, but that he naturally looked to the same as had been taken by the former embassy; from that time till now, the subject had not been revived. The Commissioner Kwang declared that the Emperor would be highly incensed at the departure of the ships without his permission, and that they would be held personally accountable. Lord Amherst informed them that the captain of the frigate had received orders from his own government to return to Canton as soon as

the embassy had disembarked, and that he had probably sailed with the first fair wind. The Mandarins remarked that our concealment of the intention had been highly improper; that though they had often alluded to the ships remaining at the anchorage, we had never given them any reason to suppose the contrary. Lord Amherst asserted that he had never heard any such allusion, for that if he had, as there was no motive for concealment, he should have informed them of the fact; they were also asked why, if the point was of such consequence, they had not made specific inquiries. Here for a moment the commissioner Kwang-ta-jin lost his temper, and, turning to Mr. Morrison, said, "the Embassador is not to blame, it is your fault in not faithfully communicating our observations." Mr. Morrison very properly said, that if such was his opinion he must decline any further interpretation. Lord Amherst requested Sir George Staunton to express to both Mandarins his sense of the injustice done to Mr. Morrison, and to inform them that he considered such observations personally

offensive to himself. Kwang, without much hesitation, apologized to Mr. Morrison, and the discussion was continued in a more friendly manner.

Soo-ta-jin readily assented to the observation made by Sir George Staunton, that the occurrence was much to be lamented, as it seemed likely to displease the Emperor, though in itself it could not be considered of much consequence. It was further observed to them, that the ships which brought the last embassy had sailed on the second day after Lord Macartney's landing; that the anchorage was notoriously unsafe for large ships, and that we had even while on board experienced weather which led the captain to apprehend the necessity of our quitting the coast. Kwang then proposed that we should furnish them with some reasons to the Emperor, and finally suggested that a paper should be written by us upon the subject to confirm the report. This was promised to be done immediately, and we parted on good terms.

The objection made by the Emperor to the band is only so far important as

it marks the capricious weakness of his character, and shews that he may be expected to adopt measures without any apparent, or indeed assignable reason. We could not be surprised at the dissatisfaction shewn by the Mandarins at the departure of the ships, and still less at our silence upon the subject. Such in fact had been the course pursued; for very soon after our arrival at the anchorage, we learnt the intentions of the Emperor respecting the shortness of our stay, and our direct return by the same route that we had arrived. Under these circumstances, and independently of considerations connected with the safety of the ships, their immediate departure became desirable, in order to deprive the Chinese of an opportunity to request their detention for our conveyance; in this we succeeded. Kwang was naturally vexed at his own want of foresight, and not a little alarmed for the consequences to himself. His subsequent moderation arose from a conviction of the inutility of taxing us with evasion, for he must have felt that the Emperor, however dissatisfied with the

occurrence, could only view the course pursued by us as natural, if not justifiable; our readiness, therefore, to diminish his responsibility, by taking some portion of censure upon ourselves, tended to his exculpation, and might not unfairly be expected to obtain a return of good offices on his part.

A paper was that night transmitted to the Mandarins, assigning certain reasons for the departure of the ships, derived chiefly from the unsafe nature of the anchorage, and the precedent of the former embassy. Although Chang had reminded Lord Amherst of the alterations proposed in the translation of the Prince Regent's letter, so much new matter had since arisen that it was not deemed necessary to give that point any immediate attention.

16th August.—We were called soon after daylight to Lord Amherst's boat to meet Soo and Kwang, who, it appeared, had last night received a communication from Pekin. Instead, however, of coming themselves, Chang and Yin were sent. They immediately alluded to the edict just received, which they said contained a strong

expression of the Emperor's displeasure at the occurrences at Tien-sing; that he severely blamed the Mandarins Soo and Kwang for having allowed us to proceed; and finally, that he was determined not to receive the Embassador unless the ko-tou was complied with. Chang and Yin were sent by the two superior Mandarins to obtain a categorical answer, upon receipt of which, they themselves would visit the Embassador. Lord Amherst in reply, while he endeavoured to convey to them an impression that he was not disposed to yield, wished to avoid giving the categorical answer required; and therefore said, that these were high matters of state, and were not to be dismissed with a mere yes or no; that the discussion upon this particular had been hitherto conducted by Soo and Kwang, and that it was better it should continue in the same hands; though at the same time he could assure them, that his refusal to communicate his answer to them did not arise from any want of regard or respect. Chang observed that this refusal rendered them nugatory, and Yin said, that he could not go back without an answer.

Finding, however, that Lord Amherst was inflexible, they retired, and in a few minutes Soo and Kwang arrived.

Their countenances shewed much uneasiness, and they commenced by expressing their regret at our want of disposition to please the Emperor. As it was of importance to receive an official intimation of the contents of the Emperor's edict, Lord Amherst, without noticing their observations, formally requested information upon the subject. Kwang replied, that their conduct in allowing the embassy to proceed beyond Tien-sing was severely censured; that the edict asserted Lord Macartney's compliance with the ko-tou, and called upon Sir George Staunton as a witness of the fact; and, finally, that the presents were ordered to be sent back, and that the Emperor could not receive the Embassador unless he performed the Tartar ceremony; for their own part they had only to request a simple answer, yes or no. Lord Amherst said in reply, that his object had been to combine demonstration of respect to his Imperial Majesty with obedience to the commands of his So-

vereign, and that he had flattered himself the readiness evinced by him, to approximate the ceremony which he proposed to that required by Chinese etiquette, would have proved satisfactory to the Emperor; that the difference was scarcely perceptible, and was made in compliance with orders which he dare not disobey. Kwang said, that no doubt the Embassador was obliged to obey his Sovereign, as they were the Emperor. It is to be observed that the word Whang-te * was applied by the Commissioner to both Monarchs.

Some discussion then arose upon the general question, in the course of which the Mandarins observed that the ko-tou was required from all foreign Embassadors; and the Siamese and Japanese were instanced. It was answered, that these nations could neither be classed in point of civilization nor of power with the English. This was readily admitted by the Mandarins; who said, that the treatment of their Embassadors was by no means so honourable. They then proceeded to describe the

* A title generally confined to the Emperor.

pleasant mode in which his Imperial Majesty had arranged that the stay of the Embassador should be employed at Pekin. Lord Amherst could only, of course, express his regret, that circumstances should prevent him from availing himself of the Emperor's intended kindness. They then asked whether Lord Amherst's son came by the Prince Regent's orders. Lord Amherst said, that he came with the Prince's knowledge; but the principal object in bringing him was, that he himself might be enabled to superintend his education. They then remarked the extraordinary kindness of the Emperor, in admitting him to the honour of an audience, when it did not appear that he held any official situation. Lord Amherst said, that he could not be considered wholly without official station, acting as he did in the capacity of his page, an office always held by young gentlemen of rank, and not unusually attached to embassies. The Mandarins now observed, that the admission of his son's tutor to the entertainment, must also be considered a proof of his Imperial Majesty's favour.

Lord Amherst terminated these observations, by calling the attention of the Mandarins to the subject immediately before them; and said, that under the present refusal of the Emperor to dispense with the ko-tou, he had a proposition to make, which, he trusted, would completely evince his anxiety to bring the discussion to an amicable termination: the commands of his Sovereign were too precise to admit of a departure from them, without some reciprocal concession; that he therefore had to propose, that a Tartar Mandarin, of equal rank with himself, should perform the ko-tou before the picture of the Prince Regent, in which case he was prepared to comply with the Emperor's wishes. The Mandarins said, that this proposition was inadmissible, for that the ko-tou would in this case be performed by the Mandarin before a shadow; there would be a difference if the proposition had been made in our own country, but brought forward under actual circumstances, it was wholly inapplicable; though pressed upon the point, they would not admit any similarity between Lord Amherst's equivalent and

the ceremony before the curtain at Tiensing. The Embassador then observed, that he had made the proposition in conformity with the example of Lord Macartney, who had proposed a similar equivalent to the ministers of his Imperial Majesty's father, with whom it had probably operated as a proof of Lord Macartney's sincere disposition to pay him every reasonable mark of respect, for that he had finally consented to receive his Lordship with the European ceremonial.

The Mandarins still refusing to consider the proposition as admissible, Lord Amherst said that matters of this high import were not to be dismissed so hastily, and that he should put into their hands a memorial upon the subject, for transmission to the Emperor. They declared that they dared not transmit any paper containing such a request.

Lord Amherst then, claiming their most serious attention, said, that he had still another proposal to make, which he trusted would prove more consistent with Chinese usage; that his reason for declining compliance with the ko-tou, being an appre-

hension that it might derogate from the dignity of his own Sovereign, it was necessary that he should obtain some document to prevent any such inference from being drawn, and therefore he had to request, that in return for his performing the kotou, his Imperial Majesty would issue an edict, declaring that any Chinese Embassador, who might hereafter be presented at the English court, should perform the Tartar obeisance before his Britannic Majesty. The Mandarins both exclaimed, Impossible! this is more objectionable than the other. Lord Amherst then said, that he would commit both propositions to writing, to be by them transmitted to the Emperor: to this they gave a decided negative. Lord Amherst suggested that they themselves should submit the two propositions, in whatever mode they deemed most expedient. The Mandarins having also objected to his suggestion, Lord Amherst said that all access being thus denied to the Emperor, he had only to declare his readiness to return. The Mandarins expressed their regret; and added, that they saw no alternative between com-

pliance and return, but that they would report what had occurred to his Imperial Majesty, and in the meantime they would move a short distance down the river, to a more convenient situation. They were evidently much distressed at the turn affairs had taken, and incidentally said, that probably other persons would be sent to reconduct us. Soo-ta-jin concluded by repeating several times the words Teën-ye! "the will of Heaven!" I must confess that I was most anxious to bring the transmission of the memorial to an issue, as the refusal is a sufficient proof of the hopelessness of any attempt at negotiation, and in my view of the subject, is the best reason for withdrawing.

We moved, as the Mandarins had said, about a mile down the river, to a very pleasant situation, near a small village. In the evening we indulged ourselves in a walk, before the boats, a pleasure which we have scarcely enjoyed since we left Tung-koo. The inhabitants soon began to bring fruits and vegetables for sale, and I have no doubt if we remain here a few days, that a market will be established. We

have been informed that the Mandarins object to persons walking before their boats, as privacy is considered essential to the comfort and respectability of a Chinese gentleman. Barbers' stools are already regularly established on the bank; and I only fear that Chinese jealousy may be alarmed at this appearance of domestication. Our situation is not unlike that of Tantalus; the blue mountains of Tartary are in sight, Pekin is only eighty miles distant, and yet our heads may be finally turned in two days to the south. The name of the village is Tsae-tsung.

Whatever may be the result of the present discussions, we must consider ourselves fortunate in the Mandarins with whom we had to transact business: they are both good-tempered, and Kwang is a man of much liberality of sentiment. If the ceremony should not be dispensed with, the rupture must be attributed to the personal character of the Emperor, who is capricious, weak, and timid, and the combined effect of these qualities will account for his pertinacity. It is not impossible

that the late civil commotions *, which endangered not only the safety of his throne, but of his life, may render him averse to dispense with a ceremony that has so direct a tendency to maintain his dignity in the eyes of his own subjects.

17th of August.—We had an early visit from one of the Mandarins who assisted at the conference at Tien-sing, accompanied by Chang and Yin. The object was to communicate the result of the deliberations of the superor Mandarins. It was impossible, they said, to state either of the propositions made by the Embassador, as they would certainly prove more offensive to the Emperor than the refusal to perform the ceremony; that therefore Soo and Kwang suggested the expedient of their addressing the Emperor to the following effect: First, on the part of the Embassador himself, that, having received positive orders from his Sovereign to adhere strictly to the precedent of Lord

* An account of these occurrences is to be found in the translations from the Pekin Gazette made by Mr. Morrison, and published at Macao.

Macartney, however disposed to shew every respect to his Imperial Majesty, he did not dare to disobey the commands of the King of England, and that therefore he humbly solicited the Emperor's permission to perform the European obeisance nine times. Secondly, from Sir George Staunton, that he should represent his extreme youth at the time of the former embassy, and his imperfect recollection of what occurred respecting the ceremony, but that he had heard, the ko-tou had not been performed by Lord Macartney. The Mandarins said, that his Imperial Majesty might possibly be induced to dispense with the strictness of the ceremonial, in consideration of such a solicitation. This proposal was prefaced by a long harangue, addressed by the Mandarin Secretary to Sir George Staunton, in which he noticed the Emperor's disappointment that Sir George had not exerted his influence with the Embassador in favour of the ceremony, as a return for the gracious notice taken of him by Kien Lung during the former embassy. Sir George took this opportunity to point out the impropriety of his

being separated from Lord Amherst and the other Commissioner, their acts and opinions being in truth identified. Lord Amherst added, with a view to prevent the recurrence of similar observations, that however much he was disposed to attend to Sir George's opinion in general, upon this point he was guided by the commands of his sovereign. As the proposition of the Mandarins was evidently only an excuse for their retracting, and as no objection could be made to the contents of the intended representation to Pekin, Lord Amherst expressed his assent.

The particular manner of performing the proposed ceremony was next discussed. Lord Amherst declared his willingness to render the arrangement as agreeable as possible to the Emperor, preserving always its distinct character. It was finally settled, that in number of genuflexions and bows it should correspond with the ko-tou*; that is, one genuflexion with three

* The Tartar ceremonial has perhaps improperly been rendered by the Chinese word ko-tou, which more strictly signifies three simple genuflexions, a mode of salutation practised even in private life. The court ceremony has

bows, thrice repeated. The Mandarin Secretary said, that this very circumstance (which he affected to consider entirely new, although it had been promised at Tien-sing) would justify the Mandarins in making the representation to the Emperor. Thus the business rests. If the proposition has been made in consequence of a more moderate communication from Pekin, we may expect a favourable termination of this disagreeable discussion, otherwise it is only a proof that we shall have the aid of Soo and Kwang in forwarding our views; and as they must be considered persons of some consequence, this is an advantage *quantum valeat.*

At one o'clock we were summoned to a conference with the secretary Mandarins attached to Soo and Kwang, accompanied by Chang. The Secretary who had been with us in the morning, opened the conversation by communicating the contents of an imperial edict just received. In this the Emperor directed the Embassador to proceed to Tong-chow, where he would be

a different name, implying thrice kneeling and nine times bowing the head, San kwei keu kou.

met by two Mandarins of still higher rank than Soo and Kwang, whose names were Ho and Moo; the former a Koong-yay *,

* The nobility of China may be divided into two classes, personal and official: the title of Koong-yay belongs to the former, of which there are five degrees, established by the founder of the present dynasty, who, at the same time, assumed the title of *Tai-tsou*, or Conqueror. In their original institution these degrees of nobility were confined to the family, or more properly clan, of the founder. The three higher degrees were conferred upon the elders of the different branches of the family; and the two last upon younger, but distinguished members. The titles themselves are *Tsien-van*, *Kiun-van*, *Pei-lee*, *Pei-tse* and *Koong-yay*. The three first may be said to be still confined to the agnati of the Emperor, and comprise the Regulos, or Princes, so often mentioned in the accounts of the Missionaries; the two last would not seem to suffer the same limitation, for the eldest male descendant of Confucius bears the title of Koong-yay: and, in the instance of Ho, we had reason to believe that the marriage of the Emperor with his sister produced his affiliation into the Imperial family. Pensions, and even servants, either Tartars or Tartarized Chinese, are assigned to these princely nobles; their usual residence is within the precincts of the palace, and their duty attendance upon the person of the Sovereign, more especially upon all great public festivals and ceremonies. All affairs relating to the Imperial family, collectively or individually, are discussed in a tribunal composed of the princes. The title and pension cease with the death of the prince on whom they have been conferred, and it rests with the Emperor whether they be continued to the son: even the servants or slaves abovementioned revert

or Duke, and connected with the Emperor by marriage, and the other President of

to the Emperor, and are disposed of as he may think expedient. It may therefore be inferred, that with the exception of the family of Confucius, there is strictly no hereditary nobility in China; there is rather an hereditary eligibility to the five degrees, possessed by the members of the Imperial family, dormant till called forth by the edict of the Emperor. I was unable to ascertain whether the title Haou-yay, usually translated Comte by the Missionaries, and applied by Mr. Morrison in describing Lord Amherst, is the same as the fifth title, Pei-tse, or an inferior and additional degree. The possessors of these titles of personal nobility all take precedence of the official nobility or Mandarins.

The divisions of the Mandarins, the distinction by the buttons on their caps, and the relative rank of civil and military employment, are sufficiently known to render an enumeration unnecessary. Of Mandarins, however, there may be said to be two classes: Mandarins of office, and titular Mandarins. To the latter description the Hong merchants, who wear buttons, belong: vanity, and a security from corporal punishment, are the motives of their purchasing, often at a high price, honours, unaccompanied with real distinction or authority. Their security from corporal punishment is but partial; for although a Mandarin must be degraded from his rank before such chastisement be inflicted, the Viceroys have the power of breaking any Mandarin within their jurisdiction, being responsible for the act to the superior tribunal at Pekin.

When the term of official employment expires, the Mandarin often returns to a private station in his native province, and may be said no longer to form one of the official nobility. Courtesy, however, usually continues

the tribunal of ceremonies. Before these Mandarins he would be required to practise the Tartar ceremony; and that on condition of his also performing it in the Imperial presence, he would be admitted to the honour of an audience; or, secondly, that the Emperor would be equally satisfied with the Embassador's practising before Soo and Kwang. The Mandarin proceeded to say, that Kwang and Soo, aware of the Embassador's determination upon the subject of the ko-tou, were anxious to be able to add to their report, that he would be ready to practise the ceremony as he had proposed, either before Kwang and Soo here, or at Tong-chow. Lord Amherst, conceiving that the demand of previous practice might arise from a desire more completely to understand, by ocular demon-

the tribute of personal distinction during his life, and, in many cases, even extends it to his family.

It is a remarkable circumstance belonging to titles of Chinese nobility, that although not conferred in hereditary succession, they have sometimes, by special decree, a retrospective effect, ennobling the ancestors, and not the posterity of the honoured individual. One of the Missionaries, in the reign of Kang-hi, was the object of this extraordinary act of Imperial favour.

stration, what he meant to do, was at first disposed to consent to a private exhibition before Soò and Kwang, as under all circumstances, he would naturally prefer persons with whom he was acquainted, to strangers. It being, however, necessary to understand the exact drift of the proposal, several questions were put to the Mandarins, directed to that object. It first appeared, from their answers, that a pledge was required in this form, from the Embassador. To meet this motive, Lord Amherst solemnly declared, that he would most conscientiously adhere to the strict letter of the proposed arrangement. It struck me from the first, that something more than mere pledge was meant, and that possibly a repetition of the yellow curtain scene, with increased ceremony, was intended; or that, as the previous practice was, in every point of view, more discreditable than even the performance of the ko-tou, it was thus demanded from a conviction, that, if complied with, there could be no danger of the Embassador hesitating at the audience. My surmise proved correct, for on being further ques-

tioned, it appeared that the practice was to take place before the figure of a dragon, the Imperial emblem. Lord Amherst, on becoming acquainted with this latter circumstance, declared, that after this explanation he must refuse his assent altogether: that the practice, if meant as a pledge, was nugatory, as there could be no certainty of how he might act on another occasion; and that the circumstances under which it was proposed, rendered it wholly inadmissible, for there was no probability of his doing that at Tong-chow, which he had refused at Tien-sing; Kwang and Soo were in possession of his sentiments upon the subject, and that whoever might be the Mandarins deputed to Tong-chow, they would produce no change in his determination; he had already given a solemn promise to adhere strictly to the ceremonial he had proposed, and that he should have no hesitation to make a written declaration to the same effect. The Mandarins caught at this last proposal, which they said was perfectly satisfactory, and complimented Lord Amherst upon his acuteness and wise conduct.

The Mandarin who had taken the principal share in the discussion seized Sir George's hand, saying, "So then, if twenty Mandarins were to come to Tong-chow, the Embassador would not do more than he had promised to Soo and Kwang." Sir George having answered in the affirmative, he said, with earnestness, "This is important, this is essential." The satisfaction thus expressed by the Mandarin had of course no connexion with the interests of the embassy; it merely referred to the effect that the failure or success of the intended negotiation at Tong-chow would have upon Soo and Kwang: should the other Mandarins obtain the compliance of Lord Amherst upon the disputed point, the difficulties that had occurred would necessarily be attributed to a want of ability on the part of Soo and Kwang; but if, on the contrary, the Embassador persisted in his determination, the written pledge now obtained was the last concession that could be made, and they therefore would have the merit of having done the utmost. In compliance with the wishes of the Mandarins, the written declaration

contained an exact description of the proposed ceremony.

I omitted to mention, that in the conference of the morning, the Mandarin had, in describing the ceremony, used gestures, which led us to imagine that some Mandarin would actually lay his hands on Lord Amherst to mark when the genuflection should be performed. Under this impression, Sir George informed him, that touching the person, according to our notions, was highly offensive; the proposal was readily withdrawn, and injunction by voice was substituted. To this no objection was made, although probably the words "San kwei ken kou," (thrice kneel, nine times bow) will be used. It is not quite clear, however, whether signals by action will not be finally adopted. Even before the conference commenced, the boats had been ordered to advance, and we have again our heads towards Pekin.

My time has been so taken up with conferences, and my mind so engaged in reflections upon the present uncertain state of affairs, that I have had little leisure, and I had almost said inclination, to examine

the scenes through which we are passing. I have only observed a gradual rising in the banks, and a greater frequency of wood; the cultivation seems much the same. Despotism in China, as elsewhere, presses with least weight upon the lower orders; our trackers have at different times struck for wages, and refused to proceed until their just demands were satisfied. They are said to be a separate class of men from different parts of the empire, who have no other occupation: their labour must often be severe, and is accompanied with a song, both to encourage their exertions and to render them simultaneous. Mr. Morrison has obtained a copy of it.

The village where we halted on the 16th was the residence of a military Mandarin of the rank of colonel, who had distinguished himself in the late rebellion; he had been wounded in the thigh, and had received a peacock's feather* as a reward. His appearance was formidable in point of size, and if his courage equalled his strength, he must have been most useful on the

* The peacock's feather may be considered equivalent to European orders of knighthood.

occasion. With the vanity common to human nature, he inquired whether we had not heard of the particular occurrence in which he had borne a part. Although, from Mr. Morrison's regular perusal of the Pekin Gazette, the fact was really so, he did not think it prudent to avow his knowledge.

I was much amused by seeing the game of guessing the number of fingers, called in Chinese Tsoee-moée, played last night by two of the inferior Mandarins: one of the party was the Mandarin of our boat, who is certainly *le Mandarin le plus bête de sa paroisse*, and though laughter threw more expression into his countenance than usual, it was still so mixed with dulness, that the effect was altogether more ludicrous than I think I ever before witnessed; it was the expanded radiance of silliness, and would have formed a capital subject for a painter. The loser drinks the cup of wine or spirits, and would therefore, in the opinion of many, be considered the winner.

Our boat has been this day infested by a most diabolical stench, proceeding from a choice preparation of stinking fish, which

is eaten by the boatmen with their rice. Eating is looked upon by the Chinese as a most important concern, and would seem to be going on all day, but they probably eat little at a time; their principal meal is in the evening: the character of their dishes is greasy insipidity, and they are prized by them in proportion to their invigorating effects.

Some of the large junks we have passed seem handsomely fitted up, and their inhabitants have been observed to be of respectable appearance. Junks on which officers of government are embarked have placards to distinguish them; the characters inscribed are generally cautions to the people to preserve tranquillity, and not to obstruct their passage. The soldiers employed to drive away the crowds by whom our boats, when at anchor, are constantly surrounded, seem to have quite an understanding with the spectators; for the soldier pretends to strike them, and they pretend to go away, but return immediately to their position. The symbol of authority and the instrument of punishment is often only the stalk of the Kaou-

leang* or millet. Villages have not been, I think, quite so frequent near the bank the last twenty-four hours; though I cannot say that we have had fewer spectators.

We all breakfast and dine on board the same junk, and return immediately after the meals to our respective boats. From the separation of our European stores, and in some degree from the scantiness of the Chinese supplies, our fare has not been very agreeable; and were it not for the occupation of business, the tedium and uniformity of the life would be terrible; yet such must be our fate during the journey to Canton. Some of the party have secured a walk almost every evening; I have been deterred by the crowds who constantly followed. My health, however, is suffering so much from confinement, that I must make a desperate effort to obtain exercise.

The bank of the river is in places artificially formed with earth and straw mixed,

* Kaou-leang means high grain, and the millet well deserves the appellation; the stalks often exceeding twelve feet in height.

and the materials for repairing it are collected in heaps at small intervals. During the night we crossed a large shoal, but have not yet observed any of the islands mentioned by the former travellers. We passed this morning before breakfast a pretty-looking building, which is conjectured to be a temporary edifice where a Mandarin has received some entertainment. Rectangular-shaped gateways, called by the Chinese Py-loo, but by European exaggeration, triumphal arches, were near it.

The Chinese are so illiberal in their principles of action, and so unblushingly false in their assertions, that the soundest arguments are thrown away upon them. Denying both your general principles and your facts *ad libitum*, the Chinese defies all attempt at refutation; yet, though aware that duplicity and deceit are with him habitual and invariable, he has no hesitation in assuming the language of offended integrity when concealment is used by others; and it must be confessed that the constant practice of these vices gives them a wonderful aptitude for detecting the

slightest semblance of them, in those with whom they are dealing.

Our friend Chang affects a taste for literature, and we are told writes verses; this is the case with most men of education and fashion in China, and impromptu composition is an usual occupation at their convivial meetings.

18th of August.—The progress is but slow, probably on an average not twenty miles a day: there are no villages immediately on the banks, but the crowds of spectators are not much diminished; the women generally station themselves at the opening of the paths leading to the villages. Various species of millet and the castor oil plant still continue the principal objects of cultivation. The system of drill seems general in Chinese agriculture. In drawing their carts they combine yoke and harness.

I succeeded with some others in obtaining a walk this day of nearly five miles, not, however, unaccompanied by crowds. While waiting to join our boats, we were obliged to take up separate positions, for the purpose of dividing the attention of

the Chinese, and thereby inhaling less of the horrid effluvia proceeding from their persons; the stench is certainly *sui generis*, and if excess in this quality be a source of the sublime, the Chinese have every claim to that quality. We have had no communication from Pekin. Mr. Abel and Mr. Amherst passed several hours on board the Chinese colonel's boat; he accompanies us to the limits of his command, and appears anxious to cultivate our acquaintance.

The river has this day become very shallow in places, and it is said that great delays are in consequence often experienced by the large grain junks in their progress up the river. These vessels * are private property, taken up on the account of government; their lading is six hundred measures of grain, and the owner is at liberty to dispose of the remainder of the

* The establishment of these junks dates from the Yuen dynasty, when the Grand Canal was formed. The crews of these vessels, called Kan-kia, were originally composed of criminals, in whose case this particular service was substituted for exile. They were permitted to take their families on board, and to trade free of duties: this privilege, and the peculiar mode of composing the crew, have ceased to exist.

tonnage, and all the accommodations, on his own account; he generally resides on board with his family. They return loaded with merchandize, exclusively private property. The central provinces, which we hope to go through on our journey to Canton, are the granaries of the empire.

19th of August.—Some spots on the banks have been very prettily wooded, not unlike park scenery in England. We are not to reach Tong-chow till to-morrow, the distance being more than fifty lees. The difference in temperature between the morning and noon is at present 16 degrees; seventy in the morning, and eighty-six at the latter time. The nights are also cool, and, on the whole, I am disposed to think the climate the most favourable point of our situation.

We have been compelled to address the conducting Mandarins upon the inadequacy of the supplies of provisions; from the first they have never been abundant, have gradually diminished, and to-day they failed altogether in some essential articles. This negligence may arise either from our doubtful fortunes, or from deficiency in the

arrangement; I am inclined to think the latter, more especially when I reflect that the imperial commissioners are under something like suspension. I collect from Mr. Morrison, that the mode of furnishing supplies to the embassy is similar to the "Seeyoorsat*" in Persia; in both countries Embassadors are considered the guests of the sovereign, and the magistrates of the district through which the road to the capital passes are called upon to provide the requisite supplies; the adequacy or scantiness will, unless previous arrangement has been made, depend upon the nature of the country passed through. In our case, I should apprehend this has been neglected. The Mandarins went through the form of making exertions, but did not remove the inconvenience.

It appears that the offence for which Na-yin-cliing, the late Viceroy of the province, has been disgraced, is an excess in his public expenditure of twenty thousand taels or six thousand five hundred pounds, which has not been sanctioned by the tri-

* The Seeyoorsat somewhat resembles the ancient practice of purveyance in England.

bunals, and he continues in confinement. The government believes him able to refund, but the contrary is the opinion of the Mandarins with us. This appears extraordinary, as he was formerly Viceroy of Canton, generally supposed to be a lucrative situation. Although the office of Hoppo at Canton requires some commercial knowledge, it would not seem that any attention is paid to qualification in the selection; on the contrary, the Hoppo is usually some favourite servant of the palace, and the office is given as the means of amassing a large fortune.

The Mandarins Soo and Kwang do not correspond with the ministers or tribunals; their appointments as Chin-chaes, or imperial commissioners, authorize them to communicate directly with the Emperor. Such is the extent to which the principle of responsibility is carried in this government, that there is no doubt that Soo and Kwang will be held accountable for Lord Amherst's refusal to perform the ko-tou, and their failure be possibly visited with severe punishment. Information received from other quarters induces Mr. Morrison to give credit to the account of their sus-

pension: and indeed the cessation of intercourse with us renders it not unlikely.

We have remarked that the people, as we advance, are inferior in personal appearance to the inhabitants of Tien-sing and its vicinity; their countenances express a worse disposition, and their dress bespeaks greater poverty. The men more generally wear hats.

20th of August.—We passed another fleet of imperial junks: the tonnage on this river must be prodigious; in number of vessels it would probably yield to none in Europe. The shallows become more frequent: this is, I suppose, the height of the dry season, as the banks, when not artificially constructed, exhibit the marks of extensive inundations.

A halt of our boat, opposite a party of soldiers, drawn out to do honour to the Embassador, gave me an opportunity of examining them with a little attention. They were, to use a military phrase, of all arms—matchlocks, bows and arrows, swords, shields, and quilted breastplates. Their bow is shaped like the Persian bow, that is, not a continued arch; but, unlike

the latter, it requires little strength to draw them: their arrows are deeply feathered, more than three feet long, with a pointed blade at the end not barbed. Chinese matchlocks are the worst that I have ever seen; originally of ill construction, they are kept in such bad order, that they must become perfectly useless. The swords are short and well-shaped, being slightly curved, and do not seem bad weapons. The bow-string rests against the thumb, and for that purpose a broad ring of bone, or some hard substance, is worn to protect the skin. The appearance of the strangely drest soldiers already mentioned, who may be called the monsters of the imperial guard, is most ludicrous: the colours of the dress are such as I before described; the dress itself is divided into a loose jacket and trowsers; some of the party had a coloured cloth wrapped like a scanty clout round their heads; they hold their capacious shields in front, close to their breasts, and allow a few inches of their rusty blades to appear above it. The principal officer on duty wore a blue button. Such is the superiority of civil over military rank in China,

that a civil Mandarin with a white button often takes precedence of the military coral.

The mountains have been in sight these two days, still retaining the blue tinge of distance: they seem divided into ranges, the highest of immense elevation.—Half past one o'clock. I saw the lofty pagoda of Tong-chow, which has before excited our attention as a great topic of incitement in the song of the trackers; their labours here terminate, and so may possibly ours; if they have toiled against the stream of the Pei-ho, we have worked our way up against the current of prejudice and unjust pretension; to them it will certainly be a place of rest, and if the cessation of conflict produced by defeat be called repose, we have also a prospect of that enjoyment. —We anchored at five o'clock. The walls of the town are visible from the tops of the boats at the anchorage, which is covered with vessels, much less numerous, however, than at Tien-sing. Troops were drawn out, and the usual salute fired, accompanied by the detestable noise of their musical instruments.

Mr. Morrison was immediately carried on shore to see the quarters intended for Lord Amherst. He described them as forming part of a building apparently employed to accommodate public officers; they were tolerably furnished, and had evidently been prepared for the occasion: they were inadequate to the accommodation of the whole party, but Mr. Morrison was of opinion that the Chinese would feel dissatisfied if Lord Amherst did not occupy them, as the preparation of them was considered an act of attention on the part of the Emperor. The distance was about one hundred yards from the boats.

After dinner, Soo and Kwang visited Lord Amherst; and after shortly mentioning the accommodation that had been provided, and arranging that Lord Amherst should establish himself there to-morrow, they entered upon the question of the ceremony, observing that all looked well but this unfortunate difference; the Emperor's disposition was most favourable, and it would be much to be regretted if this also could not be arranged to the mutual satisfaction of the parties: they were not, it

seemed, removed from their charge. This latter circumstance gave Lord Amherst an opportunity of commencing his reply, by expressing the gratification which he felt in their still continuing the medium of communication. He then proceeded to state, that the circumstances attending Lord Macartney's reception having been admitted by both parties, he begged leave to repeat to them his former statement; that the commands of his Sovereign directed him rigidly to adhere to that precedent; that however, from an anxious desire to gratify the wishes of his Imperial Majesty, he was prepared to perform the Tartar ceremony, on one of two conditions; either that a subject of his Imperial Majesty should perform the same before the Prince Regent's picture, or that a formal declaration should be made by the Emperor, that any Chinese Embassador, who hereafter appeared at the English court, should, if required, perform the ko-tou before our Sovereign: the object, Lord Amherst added, of these conditions was, to prevent the proposed ceremony being con-

strued into an act of homage from a dependent prince *.

Kwang replied shortly to this statement, remarking that the fact of Lord Macartney's not having complied with the Chinese usage was by no means generally admitted, and that the imputation of considering his Britannic Majesty a dependent prince was sufficiently disproved, by the employment of persons of their rank to

* This second condition does not materially differ from the final arrangement of the question of ceremony described by Bell of Antermony in his account of Ismailoff's embassy, which he asserts was proposed by Kang-hi: the following are his words—"That the Embassador should comply with the established customs of the court of China, and when the Emperor sent a Minister to Russia, he should have instructions to conform himself in every respect to the ceremonies in use at that court."—If this declaration on the part of the Emperor were verbal, and communicated through his minister, it was of little value, and only gave Ismailoff a decent pretext for withdrawing his opposition. A similar might possibly have been obtained on the present occasion. The account of the arrangements with the Russian Embassador, given in the Lettres Edifiantes, is different: it is there said, that the Emperor Cang-hi proposed that a Mandarin should prostrate himself before the Czar's letter on condition of the Embassador performing the court ceremony. The alternatives proposed by Lord Amherst may be said to have embraced both these statements.

conduct the Embassador to court. Lord Amherst answered, that he should never have brought forward the precedent of Lord Macartney, unless the circumstances attending it had been too well authenticated to admit of the least doubt; that though much flattered by their appointment, he could not have expected less from the gracious disposition of his Imperial Majesty. "Well," said they, "the object of the embassy is to strengthen the friendly relation between the two countries, and surely a single circumstance should not prevent its attainment." Lord Amherst strongly stated his anxiety to make every effort, consistent with the commands of his Sovereign, to effect this desirable end. They then regretted that there was so little prospect of persuading the Embassador to comply with the Emperor's wishes, and communicated the dismissal of the officer at Ta-koo, for allowing the ships to depart: Soo-ta-jin added, "such also will be our fate." The Embassador expressed his hopes that their apprehensions would prove groundless, and assured them that if they did not succeed, no others

would; in fact, had strangers been sent that night, he had not intended to have been so unreserved in his communications.

In the course of the conference the Mandarins very fairly stated the difficulties in which both parties conducting the negotiation were placed, by the commands of their respective superiors, and hinted that even if Lord Amherst complied here, he might make any report he pleased on his return to England. Lord Amherst replied, that were he base enough to falsify the account, he had seventy-four witnesses with him who would state the truth. This proposition is a tolerable instance of Chinese notions of the conduct of men in public situations. Ten o'clock was fixed for Lord Amherst's disembarkation, and the Mandarins proposed to visit him soon after. Mr. Morrison, on inquiring what some tents pitched near Lord Amherst's quarters were intended for, was incautiously informed by Yin, that an entertainment, similar to that at Tien-sing, was to be given in them to the Embassador. The principal Mandarins had not alluded to any such intention. Mr. Davis learnt from

some inferior person, that Ho, already mentioned, and Moo, the President of the Lipou, or Tribunal of Ceremonies, had been appointed to negotiate with the Embassador.

I had omitted to mention two observations, which did not at the moment attract much attention, but which, as since related by Mr. Morrison, are not undeserving of notice. The first was, that the King of England himself, were he in China, would consider it his duty to comply with the wishes of the Emperor; and secondly, that the Embassador must feel himself the minister of the Emperor, and therefore bound to obey his commands. These two suppositions may be viewed by those who attach high importance to the consequences of compliance as a commentary upon the temper with which the ceremony is required.

CHAPTER III.

Occurrences at Tong-chow—Interview with Ho-koong-yay and Moo-ta-jin—Delivery of address from the Embassador to the Emperor—Communications with Chang—Appearance of Russians at the quarters of the embassy—Remarks on Tong-chow—Second interview with the Koong-yay—Night journey to Pekin—Occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen—Sudden departure.

TWENTY-FIRST of August.—Lord Amherst and the two Commissioners proceeded to the quarters provided by the Chinese, principally to receive the visits of Soo and Kwang, as had been proposed, but it was not determined finally to establish ourselves till to-morrow; preparations for dinner on shore were however made. At two o'clock we were visited by Hung, the Mandarin Secretary, and Chang, to announce a mission of Ho, a Koong-yay, or Duke, and Moo-ta-jin, the President of the Lipou, to discuss the question of the ceremony; they did not exactly state whether Lord Amherst or these Mandarins were to pay the first visit. Hung described the Koong-yay as

a young man of few words, remarkable for severity of manner and inflexible character. The President was advanced in years, and of great experience. To-morrow was fixed as the day of interview, and the object was described to be a discussion with his Excellency of the Tartar ceremony. Lord Amherst simply expressed his readiness to meet the Duke. The interview here ended, leaving us no pleasant contemplations for the future. The allusion to the Koong-yay's character, if meant to intimidate, was highly offensive; if intended as a caution, absurd.

We had scarcely finished dinner when we were informed that all the Imperial Commissioners were waiting to be received; arrangements were accordingly made, but we were soon after informed by Chang, that only some Mandarins, deputed by the Koong-yay, were coming. They soon followed, six in number; and, as usual, the Commissioners advanced to pay the first compliments. I was in front, and my salutation was not only unreturned, but almost by gesture repulsed. These Mandarins held on their insolent

course to the chamber of reception, and availed themselves of our polite retiring to usurp the first seats. As might be expected, the conversation was short; on their part a formal communication was made that the Koong-yay and Moo-ta-jin had been deputed to instruct the Embassador in the performance of the Tartar ceremony. Lord Amherst, in reply, with much dignity and moderation restraining the feelings which their conduct was calculated to excite, confined himself to remarking that he should be ready to discuss that and other points when he met the Koong-yay. The second in rank here abruptly said, that they were sent to know his sentiments upon the point now at issue. Lord Amherst repeated his assertion, that he should communicate his sentiments to the Koong-yay and Moo-ta-jin. The same person observed, that affairs connected with the ceremonies of the celestial empire were weighty, and of primary importance: the first speaker added, that twelve tomorrow would be the hour, and with a degree of unparalleled insolence quitted the room, accompanied by his companions,

totally neglecting Lord Amherst and those whom they had come to visit.

This conduct needs little comment: the policy of making the ceremony a vital question may be doubtful, but we have thrown, and must stand the hazard of the die. At all events, that which is refused to considerations of expediency could only be granted to violence, by the unwise suggestions of timidity: the former would have had great and deserved weight with me, but to the latter my sense of public duty, and every feeling belonging to my nature, would oppose the most unbending, determined resistance. Wisdom will grant much to policy, but nothing to fear: for fear is a passionate, and therefore a dangerous counsellor.

The conduct of Chang and Yin, at an interview which we had late in the evening, was a perfect contrast to that which has been just described; they came all intimacy, friendship, and humility, in order to persuade Lord Amherst to sleep on shore that night, alleging that they had thus reported to the Emperor, and that a change in the arrangement might injure them most

seriously; they added, that it was only forty lees to Pekin, and that his Imperial Majesty had long ears. After some conversation as to the utter indifference of the point, Lord Amherst, to oblige them, promised that he would, unless something unforeseen occurred, sleep on shore to-morrow; he refused, however, to make any positive engagement: with this they remained satisfied. Occasion was here taken to convey our sense of the rude behaviour of their immediate predecessors; their neglect of my salutation was particularly adverted to. Chang said, that they had by no means behaved well to himself, having taken but little notice of him, and refused his offer to conduct them: he added, "unlike Yin, who has been forty years, and I, who have been twenty years in the provinces, they have never been absent from court." His inquiries as to what had occurred in conversation were not answered.

To quit these disagreeable subjects. Our arrival has excited quite a sensation in Tong-chow. A scaffolding has been erected opposite to the boats, divided not unlike the pit, boxes, and galleries of a

theatre, and it is crowded from morning till evening; if this has been a speculation, it must have certainly answered. Our present quarters are denominated koon-kooan, or building for the reception of public officers, and though inadequate to accommodate so large a party, have evidently been prepared with some care and attention, principally displayed upon the doorways.

22d of August.—After the interchange of various messages, we left our quarters, at twelve o'clock, to meet Ho, Koong-yay, and Moo-ta-jin, at the public building, which, to get rid of the point of etiquette between Lord Amherst and the Koong-yay, had been fixed upon as the place of interview. A letter*, addressed to the Emperor, containing a short exposition of the leading topics of argument, justifying the line adopted respecting the ceremony, and accompanied by strong expressions of veneration towards his Imperial Majesty, had been prepared, to be delivered in the event of no opening being left to further

* Vide Appendix C, No. 4. A.

discussion with his ministers. Lord Amherst took this document with him. The walls of the city were nearly midway between our quarters and the public hall; the whole distance was about two miles, but appeared much longer, from the badness of the weather, and of the road, or rather slough, through which we passed. Chairs had, after some discussion, been furnished for the Embassador, his son, and the Commissioners; the remainder of the party proceeded in the carts.

We were received by Ho (Koong-yay), Moo-ta-jin, Soo, and Kwang: our visitors of yesterday evening were ranged, among others, on the right hand. There being no appearance of offering chairs, Mr. Morrison observed, that his Excellency would converse when seated; to this the Koong-yay replied, that he intended to stand, and that the Embassador must also remain standing: to this Lord Amherst did not object. The Koong-yay then informed his Excellency, that he and Moo-ta-jin had been dispatched to see him perform the Tartar ceremony. To this Lord Amherst not having immediately returned an answer,

the Koong-yay inquired what was his intention; Lord Amherst replied, that he had been deputed by his Sovereign to the Emperor of China, for the purpose of manifesting the sentiments of regard and veneration entertained towards his Imperial Majesty, and that he had been instructed to approach his Imperial presence with the ceremonial which had proved acceptable to Kien-Lung, the illustrious father of the Emperor. The Koong-yay answered, "what happened in the fifty-eighth year belonged to that year; the present is the affair of this embassy, and the regulations of the celestial empire must be complied with; there is no alternative." Lord Amherst said that he had entertained a confident hope that what had proved acceptable to Kien-Lung would not have been refused by his Imperial Majesty. The Koong-yay, with vehemence, asserted, "That as there is but one sun, there is only one Ta-whang-te; he is the universal sovereign, and all must pay him homage." Lord Amherst, with great moderation, overlooking this absurd pretension, de-

clared that he, entertaining the utmost veneration for the Emperor, and looking up to him as a most potent sovereign, was prepared to approach his presence with a demonstration of respect which he should have refused to any other monarch; that he had delivered an official paper describing exactly the particular ceremonial which he proposed to perform; this, he concluded, had been submitted to his Majesty, and his Excellency conceived it would have satisfied his Imperial mind. Kwang, to whom Lord Amherst looked, declared that he had not dared to transmit the document.

The Koong-yay resumed, by saying that the Tartar ceremony must be complied with, and that as several years had elapsed since the last embassy, they were sent to see the Embassador* perform it correctly; that the estimation in which our country

* An attempt was made by the Chinese to induce the Portuguese Embassador, Souza Menezez, to practise the ceremony before the Li-poo; he very properly refused, but pledged himself to the exact performance of the prostrations in the presence of the Emperor.

was held by his Imperial Majesty was sufficiently shewn, by his having sent persons of the rank of Soo and Kwang to conduct the Embassador to court; that as we read Chinese books, we must be aware of the greatness of the Emperor, and of his being sovereign of the universe, and that he was consequently entitled to this homage. For himself he had nothing further to say; but as the Embassador might not perfectly understand him, Chang and Yin would explain to him what was right to be done, and the positive necessity of compliance. The Koong-yay here looked as if he meant to break up the conference, Lord Amherst therefore asked if he was not to see him again. The Koong-yay replied that he never paid visits, and that the present discussion was the same as if it had been held in the Emperor's presence: he added, that the Embassador must either comply with the Tartar ceremony, or be sent back: his lips were quivering with rage at the instant. Lord Amherst then asked if he was to understand, that he was not to have any further discussion; and as this appeared

to be the case, Lord Amherst put the letter addressed to the Emperor sealed into his hands, and requesting it might be delivered to his Majesty, withdrew. The letter was transferred by the Koong-yay to Moo-ta-jin. This measure had certainly considerable dramatic effect at the moment; the Koong-yay seemed surprised, and much cooled in manner and look. He vouchsafed to follow his Excellency a few steps towards the door, thus evincing more civility than on our entering. Ho Koong-yay is said to be in high favour with the Emperor. He distinguished himself during the late rebellion, and has been frequently commended in the Pekin Gazette.

23rd of August.—Chang called in the morning on Mr. Morrison, charged with a demi-official communication from the principal Mandarins. The letter to the Emperor had been opened by them, and it was their intention to return it. Chang privately informed Mr. Morrison that the name of the Embassador not having been mentioned, gave them a legal pretext for

refusing to deliver it, the Chinese law enacting that no anonymous address * should be preferred to his Imperial Majesty. Chang seemed ready to admit that this objection was in a great degree pretext, and that they would not have ventured to have returned the letter, unless sure of the Emperor's sanction to the proceeding. Chang was instructed to ascertain the Embassador's final sentiments respecting the ceremony. Mr. Morrison said that the Embassador was in expectation of receiving some formal communication, in consequence of the letter to his Imperial Majesty, and until that had taken place he could have nothing further to urge. They parted with this understanding. Mr. Morrison also learnt that the letter itself had been considered very properly expressed. It would evidently seem

* The superscription, stating the letter to be an address from the English Embassador to the Emperor of China, placed the quarter from whence it came beyond the possibility of doubt, and therefore virtually exonerated the document from the charge of being anonymous. In fact, there is so much difficulty in adapting English names to Chinese pronunciation or even characters, that the Mandarins themselves made use of Lord Amherst's official title to designate him upon all occasions.

the intention to make Chang the medium of communication; and as Mr. Morrison is the person to whom the Mandarins propose addressing themselves, there can be no objection to the arrangement; on the contrary, it becomes highly desirable.

Lord Amherst and the commissioners had a long conversation soon after the communication just received from Chang, directed to the effect of the arrangement upon their future proceeding; and in this view, the expediency of availing themselves of this extra-official medium, to ascertain the probability of gaining the ulterior objects of the embassy, in the event of compliance with the ceremony, was considered. This aspect of the question had been before occasionally contemplated, rather, however, as matter of speculation than of action. The bearing of my mind, uninfluenced, and unaided by local knowledge, being to regret that the reception or dismissal of the embassy should entirely turn upon the question of ceremony, I was most anxious to recal the subject to our consideration, although aware, that the turn our discussions had

taken rendered it extremely difficult to give the Chinese a hope of our yielding, even under an assurance of reciprocal concession. Reasons of sufficient weight were assigned to establish the expediency of persevering in the course hitherto adopted, and the idea was abandoned. The propriety of concluding our intercourse with this government with the proposal of leaving a Charge d'Affaires at Canton, avowedly to maintain the friendly relations of the two countries, and to transmit communications upon these subjects, but really to effect partially one of the great objects of our instructions, was canvassed, and prospectively determined in the affirmative.

Chang returned about one o'clock from the Koong-yay, bringing with him the letter to the Emperor, and a declaration from the Mandarins, that with a few slight alterations which he was instructed to state, they would undertake to transmit it to his Imperial Majesty. These alterations were first to be made in the letter now returned, and submitted to them, a fair copy then transcribed with the Embassador's name affixed to it; and that this

latter document, in an unsealed cover, would be forwarded to its address. One alteration amounted to a substitution of "Kien-Lung's having amicably treated the King of England," for "his Majesty having cultivated relations of amity with Kien-Lung;" the other alluded to the description of the intended ceremony, and the Mandarins called upon us to consider the necessity of compliance; an alteration in this respect was not, however, pressed by Chang. The substitution in the other point was willingly acceded to, and unless the Mandarins retract, the letter will find its way to the Emperor to-morrow.

My mind has been much harassed latterly by the transactions in which I have been engaged. Entertaining originally a different opinion upon the ko-tou itself, and upon the consequences of compliance, and considering that were the other circumstances connected with the treatment of the embassy not unsatisfactory, resistance upon this point was by no means essential to the support of our national respectability, I have naturally felt deep regret at the prospect of being denied

reception from a continued refusal to comply with the wishes of the Chinese, and yet I do not in the least blame myself for having surrendered my opinion to the experience of Sir George Staunton. I am ready, when called upon to act, to yield crude notions to experienced opinion, but regarding the question as matter of speculation, my sentiments remain unchanged; and I have even ventured, notwithstanding our determination had been taken on board ship, to bring an opposite view under consideration, and this too before any discussion upon the point had arisen. If, fortunately, we should be received, this difference will be of little importance; but I shall feel, if compelled to return without an audience, a doubt, whether a contrary result would have been too dearly bought, by sacrificing the distinction between nine prostrations of the head to the ground upon two knees, and nine profound bows upon one knee. Even if received, but not allowed to discuss the ulterior objects of the embassy, I shall still consider myself justified in believing that the irritation produced by protracted contest has been, in

some measure, an obstacle to their favourable consideration.

The assertions of the universal sovereignty of the Emperor, in which the Koongyay indulged himself, may be brought forward as an additional reason for refusing to perform a ceremony, in its form and intention expressive of homage and inferiority. In my opinion, these absurd pretensions and hyperbolical declarations of universal supremacy are too ridiculous to require immediate notice; and certainly to influence a public proceeding. The best reasons against compliance with the proposed ceremony, are derived from considerations of expediency. It may be said, that we make a sacrifice without a specific return, and that the character of the reigning Emperor, and the disposition of his court, give little prospect of obtaining any concession hereafter. These arguments are conclusive, unless the reception of the embassy, in a mode not less creditable than that of other European missions, be deemed a case of sufficient expediency to justify the proceeding. It however is difficult for persons arguing from general

principles, to appreciate the exact effects of impression in a particular scene; that impression being probably made up of circumstances with which they are unacquainted, or to which they do not assign their proper importance: the only safe course, therefore, on such an occasion, is to defer to local experience.

I had forgotten to mention that an extract from the Imperial Records, containing a statement that Lord Macartney had performed the Tartar ceremony, was transmitted through Chang to Lord Amherst, accompanied by an assertion that the Emperor declared his personal recollection of the occurrence. With this imperial assertion before us, however false or erroneous, it will be difficult, in the event of a renewed discussion, to press the precedent of Lord Macartney.

24th of August.—Mr. Morrison received a communication from Chang, who had been directed to return the letter to the Emperor, with a declaration that it could not be transmitted, unless a promise to perform the Tartar ceremony was added to it. The document, Chang said, had

been submitted privately to the Emperor, who had returned no specific answer to it; but had remarked, that while the Embassador professed great respect, he required an alteration in the usages of his court, and refused to perform a ceremony which he, the Emperor, had witnessed from a former English Embassador to his father Kien-Lung. Chang himself had received orders to proceed to Tien-sing to use means to detain the ships, as very contradictory reports had reached Pekin respecting them*.

Mr. Morrison had some conversation with Chang upon the ceremony, and suggested that the circumstances under which we were placed might be compared to one friend sending his servant with a complimentary message to another; that these friends might have different domestic usages, but that the one who received the message would not insist upon the other's servant complying with the peculiar regulations of his family. Chang observed, that he was aware our resistance arose from a

* The Alceste was at this time at Chee-a-tau, and consequently quite within reach of communication from Tong-chow.

belief that the ko-tou was an admission of political dependence, but in this we were mistaken; that if he met a friend of superior rank, he went upon his knees to salute him; that, however, he neither considered himself a servant, nor did his friend pretend to be his master; the ko-tou was merely a court ceremony, and the Emperor considered it rude in the Embassador to refuse compliance. Chang himself further called upon Mr. Morrison to suggest any possible answer for the Emperor. Mr. Morrison said, that his Imperial Majesty might either from feelings of kindness admit the Embassador as he proposed, or if he persisted in his refusal, still maintain a friendly connexion, by sending one of his ministers to confer with the Embassador, upon any other points that he might have to submit. No observation was made by Chang in reply.

The only answer that could possibly be given to the last communication from the superior Mandarins was a declaration of the utter impossibility of making the required addition to the letter, which would, in fact, nullify the remainder. Mr. Mor-

rison was accordingly directed to state this to Chang. Lord Amherst was also desirous that he should endeavour through the same channel to represent to the superior Mandarins, that the ceremony he proposed to perform so nearly resembled the ko-tou, that it was extremely probable, his Imperial Majesty might, in the instance of Lord Macartney, have mistaken the one for the other; more especially as from his elevated rank he must have been at some distance, and the crowd might have partially intercepted his view. Chang, in conversation alluding to the letter, said, that its expressions were so respectful, they were equivalent to the performance of the ceremony.

Our interview with the Koong-yay gave us an opportunity of seeing part of the town: the road by which we were taken was circuitous, and probably chosen to bring us through a very substantial arched gateway, in good repair, and of respectable masonry. There was a piece of ordnance near the entrance, with five mouths, and bound round with iron hoops; the embrasures at the summit of the walls were,

from their situation, evidently never used for cannon; the height of the wall was about thirty feet, with a foundation of stone, and the remainder of brick-work: a wet ditch covered one face. There were no buildings deserving any notice, and all, except one, either a temple or a station for soldiers, were of one story. As usual, we passed under some py-loos: the shops were highly decorated with gilding and carved work: the signs were so fantastical that I could not in passing along trace their connexion with the merchandize sold within; an inscription on a tavern was explained to be, "Here come persons from a thousand lees distance." Butchers' shops seemed well supplied: there were also many furriers. Streets, imperfectly paved, narrow, and saturated with bad smells, small houses, and dirty ill-clothed inhabitants, are the leading features of Tong-chow, which in rank is one of the secondary cities* of the empire, and is, in fact, the

* The cities of China are divided into three classes; Foo, Chow, and Hien. Poo signifies a hamlet; Chin, a military post, where there are also dwellings; Tang is applied to the post itself.

port of Pekin. The country between our quarters and the city would, under more favourable circumstances of weather, not have had an unpleasing aspect. I observed near the walls some slabs of stone, and other fragments of masonry, indicating the former existence of a considerable building: a large bell, of apparently good workmanship, lay partly buried in the sand. On the whole there was little to remark, and nothing to interest about the town or its vicinity. Pawnbrokers' shops are as numerous in Chinese cities as in London, and are marked by a very high pole, with a cross-piece of wood, not unlike a junk.

It is somewhat singular that what I yesterday, in a conversation with Lord Amherst, anticipated, has this day actually occurred; the Chinese government have accused Sir George Staunton of having concealed the real facts relating to Lord Macartney's reception, and of having advised the Embassador to resist the reasonable demands of the Emperor. Chang was the bearer of a communication to Mr. Morrison, requesting an interview with

Sir George, for the purpose of putting certain interrogatories, founded upon a report received by the Viceroy of Canton from the foreign officer at Macao, and transmitted by him to Pekin: the report from Canton contained a statement of the gentlemen composing the embassy, and asserted that it consisted principally of commercial persons from that city, and was therefore not fitly constituted; that Sir George himself had been many years at Canton, had amassed a large fortune, lived in a fine house, with an aviary, and had purchased his present situation*. The authorities here would, from Chang's account, seem to infer, that Sir George had, of course, been appointed to his present

* Sir George Staunton remarked on this occasion, that "it seemed superfluous to notice these ridiculous inventions of the Chinese, otherwise than by observing that they were particularly unhappy in their application to him individually. Indeed not one of the six persons who accompanied the embassy from Canton could be considered as taken from commercial situations, otherwise than as having been connected with the management of the affairs of the East India Company, whose servants the Chinese government has expressly acknowledged in one of its edicts as holding public official situations of a similar character with those of their own Mandarins."

office from having accompanied the former embassy; and that, it being his duty to have stated the facts as they had really occurred, he had on the contrary maliciously advised the Embassador to adopt a course of proceeding wrong in itself, and offensive to the Emperor. Chang had been instructed by interrogatory to ascertain the truth of the statement from Canton.

It required little deliberation to determine the line of conduct to be adopted under these circumstances. Mr. Morrison was directed to inform Chang, that it was impossible that Sir George should alone discuss such a subject; that the communication must be made to Lord Amherst and the Commissioners; the measures alluded to had been persisted in under instructions from the Prince Regent, issued before Lord Amherst had ever seen Sir George; that if this irritating message were a mere pretext to dismiss the embassy, it would seem unnecessary, as the Embassador was prepared to return whenever the Emperor would graciously signify his wishes. We also learnt that Chang had inquired from Mr. Morrison whether Sir George intended to

resume his situation as Chief of the Factory; and said, that the government was by no means satisfied with the mode in which the trade had been conducted of late years.

We had shortly afterwards a visit from Chang, who evidently with great reluctance entered upon the communication he had been instructed to make, which he stated to be a series of interrogatories, founded upon a report transmitted by the Viceroy of Canton: he touched with moderation upon Sir George's supposed knowledge of the transactions during Lord Macartney's embassy, and of the expectation consequently entertained, that he would have correctly informed the Embassador upon the points in dispute, for that such must have been the object of his appointment: he then alluded to the persons composing the embassy, and inquired whether all the trade of our country was under the management of the King. Lord Amherst, in reply, said, that all Englishmen engaged in trade were equally subjects of the King, and therefore under his royal protection; that he had never ventured to ask what were the reasons which induced the Prince

Regent to appoint Sir George to his present situation, nor was he prepared to answer any questions respecting who or what the persons belonging to the embassy might be, and that he had only to state, they were all approved of by the Prince Regent. Lord Amherst added, that he had never made any inquiries regarding who the persons were, communicating with him under the Imperial commission, and that the cases were exactly parallel; if the object of these inquiries were to find a reason for dismissing the embassy, Lord Amherst could assure Chang that he only waited for a day to be fixed, and then his remaining wish was to part on good terms. Chang endeavoured to enter into a detail of the Canton report, but having been interrupted by Mr. Morrison, and informed that the whole had been already stated to Lord Amherst, he said, "then I must report that these questions are deemed improper, and will not be answered." This being assented to, he quitted the subject. The ceremony was then adverted to, and Lord Amherst repeated many of his former arguments, particularly dwelling upon the similarity

in exterior appearance between the two ceremonies, and the possibility of the Emperor's eyes having been deceived. Chang seemed ready to admit this view of the question, and said, that the pertinacity of the government was to be attributed to Tartar feelings, which were very determined upon all points of ceremony; that although the Emperor might at our request remove either a Viceroy or a Hoppo, he could not dispense with the ceremonial of his court: he deplored the importance attached by both parties to a trifling difference; hinted slightly at the possible bad consequences to the trade from the return of the embassy under such circumstances, and earnestly hoped some mode of amicable adjustment might be devised: his language was throughout so moderate and conciliatory, that the character of his original communication, (which indeed could not in any degree be attributed to him), was quite lost sight of, and nothing could be more friendly or intimate than our parting. The Portuguese judge at Macao is supposed to be the author of the report to the Viceroy; the badness of his character, and his deter-

mined hostility to the English, are sufficiently known to justify the suspicion.

In the evening Chang was the bearer of a request from the superior Mandarins, that the promised letters to the captains of the ships, ordering them to be detained at the nearest possible point, should be sent for immediate transmission; the Koong-yay having said that the place was indifferent, whether Chusan or Canton. Letters were accordingly written by Lord Amherst to Captain Maxwell, addressed to him at those ports or elsewhere: Chusan is, however, the probable point where he will be found.

Two Russians*, and a Frenchman in the service of Russia, have been hovering near our quarters the three last days. The Frenchman on the first day entered into conversation with the drummer of Lord Amherst's band, and informed him that they had wished to pay their respects to the Embassador, but had been prevented by the Chinese guard, who allowed no per-

* The Russians have a college at Pekin for the instruction of a sufficient number of persons to act as interpreters on the frontier. The Senate of Tobolsk communicates directly with a Tribunal at Pekin.

sons but those wearing the cap of office to enter the inclosure: he described himself as having been nine years in China. Lord Amherst having determined not to encourage any communication with them, no further intercourse has taken place. They were dressed completely as Chinese.

25th of August.—Some idea has been entertained of sending a message to the Koong-yay, expressive of Lord Amherst's anxiety to ascertain the day fixed for the departure of the embassy; and as, notwithstanding the difference of opinion with the Chinese upon a particular point, there had been no absolute rupture, it has been proposed to deliver the presents from the Prince Regent, to any person whom the Emperor might authorize to receive them. The purport was previously stated by Mr. Morrison to Chang, whom it was intended to make the bearer of it. He, in answer, recommended that we should be quiet, and not give way to agitation; that no doubt the presents would be received; and that we were not to conclude the Emperor would finally act in the same spirit as the "Kwan-hwa," or haughty mandarin tone.

Although much importance is not to be attached to Chang's remarks, there is some justice in his suggestion that we should remain quiet, for in the present crisis, when every argument has been repeatedly urged, and every concession made, which adherence to the general principle adopted will permit, it is scarcely possible to devise any measure which is not either nugatory or dangerous. Chang gave it as his opinion yesterday that a letter to the King of England was in preparation; if this be the case, the Emperor must have come to a determination.

Our quarters have in their immediate vicinity a large village or suburb of the town; my excursions have been so limited that I have not yet ascertained whether it be the one or the other. I went on the second evening after our arrival into some of the furriers' shops, and should have found no difficulty* in purchasing any article I might have wanted: the furs were principally bear and goat-skin, and I did

* This circumstance is mentioned from the difficulty experienced during the former embassy, in making purchases.

not see any of superior quality; the best were made up into jackets, and the lining and outside were usually of different kinds of fur. The business of the eating-house seemed to be carried on in the streets: tea and other liquors, soups and different preparations of meat, were divided into small portions, and ready for immediate consumption; this must be a great accommodation and saving of time to the labouring classes, although it may be considered a proof of the absence of domestic habits among them. It is impossible not to remark the neatness of the Chinese in their tubs, baskets, and boxes: it is said, that in presents the outward package not unfrequently exceeds the value of the contents. The front yard of all their houses is set off by some flowering shrubs or dwarf trees, and not seldom a bower of treillage work, with beautiful creeping plants, adds convenience to ornament. No dislike is shewn by the people in general to our natural inquisitiveness; on the contrary, our momentary intrusions have been met by invitations to sit down.

The Miao, or temple, occupied by Lord Macartney, is now the residence of the Koong-yay, and we have not therefore been able to visit it, though at a very short distance from our quarters. I went yesterday morning to a smaller temple, which had nothing remarkable on the outside; in a small apartment, on the left of the entrance, there were four figures, two male and two female, all gorgeously drest, the male as warriors; in the hands of one of the female figures there was a leaf of a plant: within the inner and larger hall there were several figures ranged on each side, some with crowns and others with fillets. The principal objects of adoration were two figures standing in a recess, fronting the entrance of the hall, a male and female, the latter holding the fruit of the water lily in her hand; these were still more richly dressed than the others. Some bundles of feathers were hanging before them, and pots for incense were placed on a table. The male figures were short and thick; this may therefore be considered the Chinese standard of beauty, man being

usually disposed to attribute his notions of perfection to the form under which the Deity is pourtrayed.

Chang came to Mr. Morrison just before dinner, in a state of considerable alarm, produced by a communication from a friend of his at Pekin, whom he had requested to ascertain the feelings of the Emperor. His correspondent described his Imperial Majesty as so incensed by the resistance of the Embassador, and the departure of the ships, that it was quite impossible to convey some representation which Chang seems to have wished to make, respecting his own intended mission to the coast. Chang, to describe the state of his mind, put his hand, literally chilled by alarm, into Mr. Morrison's. This latter communication proves that Chang was mistaken in his anticipation of any favourable disposition having yet shewn itself. An extract from the Viceroy of Canton's report was sent by Chang to Mr. Morrison, which, so far from containing any injurious expressions towards Sir George, was rather complimentary; it is, however, stated, that the motive (approving of the same) for his

appointment to his present situation, was his knowledge of the usages and ceremonial of China; from this the members of government at Pekin have drawn the unjust inference, that Sir George has not done his duty, in correctly representing the subject in dispute to the Embassador; the names of all the gentlemen from Canton are also specified. There would seem reason either to suspect that there is another report, or that the remaining alleged facts have been scraped together on the spot.

Late in the evening a paper was transmitted by Chang to Mr. Morrison, which purported to be an edict issued by the Governor of Pekin, directing that the guards should be doubled round our quarters, and that all communication with Chinese should be strictly watched: these orders were founded upon a statement, that foreigners who resided long at Canton became acquainted with the Chinese language, and there was no answering for the consequences of traitorous Chinese corresponding with them. This edict must be considered as differing only in degree from those issued at Canton in 1814, and whether deserving

the serious impression which it was at first calculated to excite, it is no doubt evidence of a bad spirit being afloat, highly adverse to the probability of any good arising from our continued stay. Moreover, the lapse of three or four days without any strictly official communication from the superior Mandarins, combined with the refusal to forward Lord Amherst's memorial to the Emperor, requires we should address them respectfully, but firmly, upon these points, and, further, request to be apprised of his Imperial Majesty's determination in regard to the period of our departure. Mr. Morrison was accordingly requested to prepare an official note to this effect, for transmission, in the morning.

26th of August.—Mr. Morrison had his usual visit from Chang, who said, that the Mandarins appeared anxious to receive some communication from the Embassador. It has been suggested, that in the event of no accommodation taking place, they may be disposed to accuse us of having unfairly delayed our departure, and thereby put the Emperor to unnecessary expense. The intended note was prepared, and dis-

patched, in charge of Mr. Hayne and Mr. Davis, who, although they did not see Ho, returned with a message acknowledging its receipt. We received two messages, in the course of the day, from Ho; the first, that he did not propose answering the note immediately, as he was desirous that the Embassador should have full time for deliberation, before an irrevocable decision was passed; the second, proposing an interview in the morning, for the purpose of an amicable discussion, and adding, that in the event of this arrangement taking effect, Ho would be happy to pay his respects to the Embassador.

Two opinions were elicited from Chang in the course of the day; the one, that we might be confident of being received, but that compliance with the ceremony would make the difference of an angry or a gracious reception; the other, probably collected from the superior Mandarins, that the question was now come to a point of honour between the Emperor and the English Embassador, and that it was impossible, under such circumstances, that the Emperor should submit.

Ho's proposition for an interview was readily accepted, and ten o'clock fixed as the hour. Lord Amherst called the attention of the Commissioners to the circumstances under which we were now placed, more especially with a view of determining whether the conduct of the Chinese government, in the latter part of the discussion at Tong-chow, had not given us reason to anticipate evils from the rejection of the embassy, which would require a modification of the principle adopted on board the Alceste, and whether this modification should only proceed to the extent of obtaining an honourable pretext for retracting, or require some specific act of favour from the Emperor, as the condition of compliance. The conduct of the Chinese government here alluded to, as calculated to influence the decision, was the personal attack which appeared to be aimed at Sir George, with its possible consequences to the Company's interests at Canton; and the specific act of favour resolved itself either into a gracious edict respecting the embassy and the persons composing it, or into the admission of a direct communi-

cation between Canton and Pekin. An edict publicly asserting the Emperor's own recollection of Lord Macartney having performed the Tartar ceremony, might furnish a decent pretext for withdrawing resistance. A long discussion ensued, which was adjourned till the morning, when Sir George proposed to give a decided opinion. Viewing, speculatively, the rejection of the embassy as a serious evil, and attaching considerable importance to the possible effects of the Emperor's irritation displaying itself in the repetition of personal attacks upon the individuals conducting the Company's affairs, I am strongly disposed to avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by the interview with Ho, to open a door to conciliation, and if we still found the Emperor inflexible, finally to comply with his wishes; being moreover inclined to think, that we may thereby look forward to proposing the ulterior objects of the embassy, with some prospect of success.

27th of August.—Sir George submitted a sketch of his deliberate opinion to Lord Amherst, in which, while he stated his adherence to the opinion given on board

the Alceste, respecting the consequences of performing the ceremony, and his conviction, that no permanently injurious effects would result from the rejection of the embassy; added, that upon a fair expectation being held out of obtaining the ulterior objects of the mission, reasons might be found for taking a different view of the question, especially with reference to the instructions on this point from our own government. Some discussion then arose as to what would constitute a fair expectation, and it seemed to be agreed that a solemn assurance on the part of Ho, of the Emperor's favourably considering our requests, would be sufficient. With these sentiments we proceeded to the conference.

Ho received us most graciously, and after some civil inquiries from him, Lord Amherst took occasion to mention the note of yesterday, and to request an answer. The answer not having been specific or satisfactory, Lord Amherst proceeded to state the grounds of his resistance, dwelling upon the commands of his Sovereign, who had pointed out the particular cere-

mony with which he was to approach the Imperial presence, and requesting the Koong-yay to suggest some motive for his departing from such positive orders, and thereby incurring most heavy personal responsibility. The Koong-yay dwelt upon the propriety of compliance, from a consideration of the exalted rank of the Emperor, who must be esteemed infinitely superior in dignity to a King, and whose gracious condescension and favour might in other respects be fully relied upon. Lord Amherst observed that it was impossible for him to lose the habits of allegiance produced by a life of forty-three years, and that he must again press the Koong-yay to reflect impartially upon the difficulty of his situation. Ho repeated his former observations, and added in an under tone, that our King himself might get into an embarrassing situation; this Mr. Morrison, with his usual good sense, declined communicating. Lord Amherst then proceeded to state the necessity of the Emperor justifying him to his Sovereign, by a statement of his Majesty's own knowledge of the Tartar ceremony having been per-

formed by Lord Macartney, and also of an Imperial edict being issued, containing gracious expressions respecting the embassy. These two points the Koong-yay assented to. Lord Amherst next adverted to the direct communication between the chief of the factory at Canton, and some tribunal at Pekin, founding the request upon the inexpediency of such vast concerns being dependant for security upon the personal character of the local officers, and bringing forward the example of the Russian trade. Ho, in answer, said that he could not venture to pronounce any opinion upon the view the Emperor might take of this latter request; he admitted that it did not appear unreasonable, and concluded by saying, "Comply with the Tartar ceremony, and I am your friend at Pekin." Lord Amherst terminated the discussion by expressing his intention of taking the subject again into consideration. The Koong-yay talked of our all going to Pekin to-morrow, and said that he should expect to hear the result of Lord Amherst's deliberation in a few hours, when he pro-

posed to return his lordship's visit. The Koong-yay's manner was throughout most gracious, and his expressions were of the more consequence, as there were several persons present. Moo-ta-jin, Soo, and Kwang, assisted at the conference, and our six impudent visitors were in waiting: they prove to be Tartars, confidential attendants of the palace, who are much considered, on that account, by all public officers.

On our return, the discussions upon the expediency of compliance were renewed, and Lord Amherst gave an opinion, that unless Sir George still considered compliance under present circumstances injurious to the Company's interests, he was disposed, with a view of averting the probable evil consequences of rejection under irritated feelings, and contemplating the prospect held out of effecting the ulterior objects of the embassy, to comply with the Emperor's wishes to the extent of performing the ceremony in his presence. I expressed my complete concurrence with Lord Amherst. Sir George, previously to,

giving his opinion, said that he should wish to consult the gentlemen who accompanied him from Canton, as he was anxious to assist his own judgment with their experience. To this Lord Amherst readily acceded, stating that he conceived all questions connected with the possibility of personal or national degradation from performing the ceremony, to have been decided by Lord Macartney's conduct, in proposing even conditional compliance, and by the instructions of his Majesty's ministers; and, therefore, the probable effect at Canton of the measure, was the only point upon which he could require an opinion. Sir George having consulted the gentlemen of the factory separately, found, that with the exception of Mr. Morrison, they considered compliance as highly injurious to the Company's interests; the maintenance of the respectability of the factory at Canton, and consequently of their efficiency, resting entirely upon a belief entertained by the Chinese of their inflexible adherence to principles once assumed; a belief, which must necessarily be subverted by conces-

sion on so weighty a point, and on such an important occasion*. Sir George added, that these had been, before the consultation, and were still his sentiments. Lord Amherst and myself withdrew our suggestion, and a note was prepared to Ho, stating such to be our final and irrevocable determination. At this moment a visit from the Koong-yay was announced, and we were informed that they were landing the presents: immediate measures were taken to stop the Koong-yay, by informing him, that a note communicating our determination would be transmitted without delay. The note was accordingly sent by Mr. Hayne and Mr. Davis, who delivered it to one of his attendants.

They had scarcely returned, when the Koong-yay himself arrived, and after taking his seat, requested that Lord Amherst would lose no time in making his preparations, as the Emperor had fixed to-morrow

* Mr. Morrison also was adverse to compliance with the ceremony on general principles, but thought that the immediate interests of the East India Company might justify a different proceeding in the present instance.

for his departure, and Friday for his first audience; the house of Sung-ta-jin, at Haiteen, was to be prepared as his residence. Lord Amherst expressed his readiness to proceed as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. The presents, Ho said, were landed, and there would be no difficulty in all being ready as proposed. Lord Amherst then distinctly requested an answer to his last note. The Koong-yay bowed significantly, saying that there was no difficulty, all was arranged, and that he knew what were the feelings of the Embassador's heart. He here rose to depart, leaving Kwang to continue the discussion. Lord Amherst, feeling the importance of not subjecting himself to the imputation of holding out a delusive prospect of compliance, earnestly inquired whether the last note had been thoroughly understood; its object, he said, was to state distinctly the impossibility of his compliance with the ko-tou; and to express his hope that the Emperor would receive him in the mode proposed. Kwang observed in reply, "Both parties in the discussion had done their

duty, but that now the affair was settled, and we might be perfectly easy; the ceremony would not be again mentioned, and that we might rely upon the Emperor's kindness, whose heart was truly liberal and expanded." Sir George had no doubt that the point was conceded, and that we might be perfectly satisfied. Although it was scarcely possible to contemplate our departure to-morrow without serious inconvenience, Kwang was so urgent on the ground of the Emperor's positive orders, that Lord Amherst promised to make every exertion, although he could not, and would not, pretend to fix the precise hour.

Chang and Yin came in the evening to press Lord Amherst to set off in the morning. They repeated on this occasion the account before given to Mr. Morrison, that the Emperor considered Soo and Kwang responsible for the whole expenses of the embassy from Tien-sing, in consequence of their having taken upon themselves to allow us to proceed; that their trial was actually in progress before the tribunals; that Kwang had been removed from his

lucrative situation in the salt department—a successor appointed—and, finally, that the most fatal consequences to him might be apprehended, if Lord Amherst did not actually arrive to-morrow. However Lord Amherst might regret these occurrences, he did not feel it right to set off at the risk of not making a suitable appearance on the day of the audience. The inconvenience already experienced from the improper precipitation of the Chinese was a sufficient warning, and he declared his resolution not to quit Tong-chow till every thing connected with the public appearance of the embassy had been dispatched to Pekin. Chang was obliged to be satisfied, and promised every exertion on his part; in fact, the Chinese have already been so active, that we shall probably be enabled to obey the Emperor's orders.

28th of August.—The exertions of the Chinese have been so unremitting, that the presents and great part of the stores were sent off last night, and every thing will leave this evening. The carriage has been unpacked. It will convey Lord Amherst,

the Commissioners, and his son. We have all been much struck by the extreme regularity with which the Chinese have conducted the transport of the numerous articles; each package has been marked and numbered by them; and to judge from former experience, we may be confident of every thing arriving in safety. They have been much surprised at the quantity of our private baggage*, and not without reason; the habits of perfect civilization generate so many artificial wants, that they must either be wholly abandoned, or produce the inconvenience complained of. The larger waggons are covered with matting, and are not unlike a tilt cart; they are drawn by five mules or horses, in general the latter. The carts for personal accommodation are much smaller, drawn by single mules; hold one person without difficulty, but are extremely inconvenient,

* The amount was nominally increased by all the presents for the Mandarins being included in the statement of Lord Amherst's private baggage, which was done to avoid the disagreeable suspicions that might have been excited, by the destination of these articles becoming public.

from their being without springs. The mules are particularly fine*, and the better sort of horses resemble the smaller sized Turkoman.

We left our quarters at five o'clock, and took the same road as on the day we first visited Ho. After having skirted the walls of the city, in many places out of repair, we came upon the paved granite road leading to Pekin. One mile from Tong-chow we crossed a long bridge, with a single arch, just large enough to admit a small barge then passing through: the view from the bridge was exceedingly striking; the pagoda and watch-tower formed beautiful objects in the distance, while the banks were prettily diversified with cultivation and clumps of trees. Near sunset we passed a wall of good masonry, which seemed to inclose a handsome park; small pavilions near the road, open on all sides, with highly decorated roofs, arrested our attention, as characteristic of Chinese architecture in their best style, and in

* I attribute the fineness of the mules to the quality of the asses, which are large and well shaped; their colours are very remarkable; some have been seen piebald.

almost good taste; they are said to be commemorative of individual worthiness. I could not determine all the animals represented by the sculpture; some were certainly lions. We halted in a large village half way, which consisted principally of houses for the accommodation of travellers, well adapted to their purpose in fine weather. Here we were received by the Imperial Commissioners, Soo and Kwang, who had graciously provided some broken victuals for our refreshment: they had travelled so far in chairs*, but Kwang's rank did not authorise him to proceed thus any further; Soo, however, continued to use his: four had been provided for the accommodation of the party in the carriage, which had been transferred to the sick. A hint was here thrown out, that our audience was to take place on the morrow; this was, however, little attended to, from its obvious impracticability.

Three miles from the halting place we entered the large suburb, which continues to the gate of Pekin: the crowd was im-

* These chairs have a particular name, kwan-hiao; green is the privileged colour.

mense, but, as usual, orderly. I remarked that the soldiers were more decisive in asserting their authority as we approached the capital. Most of the spectators carried a paper lantern, to prevent their curiosity being disappointed by the darkness of the night: the carriage, as might have been expected, was the great object of attraction, and notwithstanding the badness of the road, of the cattle, and the hurry under which it had been put together, performed its part very well. Our eyes were dazzled by the splendid decorations of the shops; the gilded carved work is really handsome; and it is extraordinary, that the profits of trade should allow of such an unproductive expenditure. We reached the gate by which Lord Macartney entered Pekin about midnight, and having been informed that the Emperor, in his special favour, had ordered the gates to be kept open, contrary to the usual practice, were not a little disappointed at finding the cavalcade defile by the wall. Our eyes anxiously looked for the next gate, only to be again disappointed, when it clearly appeared that we

were to be taken round the walls to our destination.

29th of August.—Daylight found us at the village of Hai-teen, near which the house of Sung-ta-jin, one of the principal ministers, intended to be our quarters, is situated; here, however, we did not remain, but were carried directly to Yuen-min-yuen, where the Emperor is at present. The carriage stopped under some trees, and we ourselves were conducted to a small apartment belonging to a range of buildings in a square. Mandarins of all buttons* were in waiting; several Princes of the blood, distinguished by clear ruby buttons and round flowered badges, were among them: the silence, and a certain air of regularity, marked the immediate presence of the Sovereign. The small apartment, much out of repair, into which we were huddled, now witnessed a scene, I believe, unparalleled in the history of even oriental diplomacy. Lord Amherst had scarcely

* The buttons in the order of their rank are as follows: ruby red, worked coral, smooth coral, pale blue, dark blue, crystal, ivory, and gold.

taken his seat, when Chang delivered a message from Ho (Koong-yay), stating that the Emperor wished to see the Embassador, his son, and the Commissioners, immediately. Much surprise was naturally expressed; the previous arrangement for the eighth of the Chinese month, a period certainly much too early for comfort, was adverted to, and the utter impossibility of his Excellency appearing in his present state of fatigue, inanition, and deficiency of every necessary equipment, was strongly urged. Chang was very unwilling to be the bearer of this answer, but was finally obliged to consent. During this time the room had filled with spectators of all ages and ranks, who rudely pressed upon us to gratify their brutal curiosity, for such it may be called, as they seemed to regard us rather as wild beasts than mere strangers of the same species with themselves. Some other messages were interchanged between the Koong-yay and Lord Amherst, who, in addition to the reasons already given, stated the indecorum and irregularity of his appearing without his credentials. In his reply to this it was said, that in the

proposed audience the Emperor merely wished to see the Embassador, and had no intention of entering upon business*. Lord Amherst having persisted in expressing the inadmissibility of the proposition, and in transmitting, through the Koong-yay, an humble request to his Imperial Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to wait till to-morrow, Chang and another Mandarin finally proposed that his Excellency should go over to the Koong-yay's apartments, from whence a reference might be made to the Emperor. Lord Amherst having alleged bodily illness as one of the reasons for declining the audience, readily saw, that if he went to the Koong-yay, this plea, which, to the Chinese (though now scarcely admitted), was in general the most forcible, would cease to avail him, positively declined compliance: this produced a visit from the Koong-yay, who, too much interested and agitated to heed ceremony, stood by Lord Amherst, and used every argument to induce him to obey the Emperor's commands. Among

* It is remarkable, that a proposal not very dissimilar was made to Ismailoff.

other topics he used that of being received with our own ceremony, using the Chinese words "ne mun tih lee," your own ceremony. All proving ineffectual, with some roughness, but under pretext of friendly violence, he laid hands upon Lord Amherst, to take him from the room; another Mandarin followed his example. His Lordship, with great firmness and dignity of manner, shook them off, declaring, that nothing but the extremest violence should induce him to quit that room for any other place but the residence assigned to him; adding, that he was so overcome by fatigue and bodily illness, as absolutely to require repose. Lord Amherst further pointed out the gross insult he had already received, in having been exposed to the intrusion and indecent curiosity of crowds, who appeared to view him rather as a wild beast than the representative of a powerful Sovereign: at all events, he entreated the Koong-yay to submit his request to his Imperial Majesty, who, he felt confident, would, in consideration of his illness and fatigue, dispense with his immediate appearance. The Koong-yay then pressed Lord Amherst to come

to his apartments, alleging that they were cooler, more convenient, and more private: this Lord Amherst declined, saying that he was totally unfit for any place but his own residence. The Koong-yay having failed in his attempt to persuade him, left the room for the purpose of taking the Emperor's pleasure upon the subject.

During his absence an elderly man, whose dress and ornaments bespoke him a Prince*, was particularly inquisitive in his inspection of our persons and inquiries; his chief object seemed to be to communicate with Sir George Staunton, as the person who had been with the former embassy; but Sir George very prudently avoided any intercourse with him. It is not easy to describe the feelings of annoyance produced by the conduct of the Chinese, both public and individual: of the former I shall speak hereafter, of the latter I can only say, that nothing could be more disagreeable and indecorous.

A message arrived soon after the Koong-yay's quitting the room, to say that the

* They are distinguished by round badges.

Emperor dispensed with the Embassador's attendance; that he had further been pleased to direct his physician to afford to his Excellency every medical assistance that his illness might require. The Koong-yay himself soon followed, and his Excellency proceeded to the carriage. The Koong-yay not disdaining to clear away the crowd, the whip was used by him to all persons indiscriminately; buttons were no protection; and however indecorous, according to our notions, the employment might be, for a man of his rank, it could not have been in better hands. There were colossal figures of lions in the court, which appeared to me not ill executed, and in bronze.

We returned, by the same road, to Haiteen, where we found the remainder of the party, who, we conjecture, had been intentionally separated from us by the Chinese; indeed we have reason to believe it was their design to have carried only the four persons who were to have been admitted to the Imperial presence, to Yuen-min-yuen; and that, consequently, Messrs. Morrison, Abel, Griffith, Cooke, Somerset,

and Abbot, owed their being with Lord Amherst to accident. The house of Sung-ta-jin, selected for our residence, was exceedingly commodious, and pleasantly situated, with flowers and trees near the principal apartments. Its aspect was so agreeable, that we could not but look forward with some satisfaction to remaining there a few days. Such, however, was not to be our fate; before two hours had elapsed a report was brought, that opposition was made by the Chinese to unloading the carts; and soon after the Mandarins announced, that the Emperor, incensed by the Embassador's refusal to attend him according to his commands, had given orders for our immediate departure. The order was so peremptory, that no alteration was proposed: in vain was the fatigue of every individual of the embassy pleaded; no consideration was allowed to weigh against the positive commands of the Emperor. Chang at one time said, that even compliance with the Tartar ceremony would now be unavailing; in the course of the day, however, he somewhat altered his language, saying all this annoyance had arisen from our perti-

nacity upon the point at issue, and hinted, that submission might still be of use: he had the audacity to deny that the Emperor had ever signified his consent to receive us on our own terms.

The officer of government most urgent for our immediate departure was a messenger from the commander in chief of the Pekin district, into whose hands it would seem the execution of the Emperor's orders had been put. This officer entered upon the question of the ceremony, using, as might be expected, the most absurd language; asserting the Emperor's claim to it from his superiority of rank over all monarchs; the consequent impropriety of our conduct in pertinaciously refusing obedience to his commands; and concluded by saying, that the Emperor would, of course, write a friendly and explanatory letter to the King of England, who would, no doubt, be highly offended with the Embassador. These observations being by chance addressed to me, I requested Mr. Morrison to inform him, that the point of ceremony had been set at rest by the Emperor's promising to receive us on our own terms; and that we were under

no alarm respecting the sentiments of our Sovereign upon our behaviour. The officer urging our instantaneous departure, I assured him that he need not apprehend delay on our part, as the only circumstance that could render our stay in the Chinese dominions agreeable was the goodwill of the Emperor, of which we were now deprived. We experienced shortly afterwards a solitary act of civility in a handsome breakfast, sent by the Emperor, which was most acceptable, as many of the party had tasted nothing since the preceding day. At four Lord Amherst got into his chair; and thus to all outward appearance has the embassy terminated.

I have forgotten to mention that the Emperor's physician actually visited Lord Amherst immediately on his arrival at Sung-ta-jin's, and to his report of the alleged indisposition being a mere pretext, the Emperor's sudden ebullition of rage may partly be attributed; for my own part, I cannot refrain from thinking, that the promise given at Tong-chow was a mere deception, and that the real intention was either to bring us into the Emperor's pre-

sence, under circumstances so inconvenient and indecorous, as to render it perfectly indifferent what ceremony we went through; or by confusion and personal violence to compel the performance of the ko-tou; or else the Emperor, anticipating Lord Amherst's refusal of immediate attendance, may have proposed it as a pretext for his dismissal: if this latter supposition be correct, the success has been complete, for the proposal was so unreasonable, and the manner in which it was pressed so insulting, that neither public duty nor personal honour would have allowed Lord Amherst to act otherwise than he did. The English gentlemen who were witnesses to these transactions must have found great difficulty in restraining their indignation from proceeding to action, when they saw the brutal rudeness and insulting demeanour with which the representative of their Sovereign was treated; and there could have been but one feeling, a hope that hereditary rank and official dignity might never again be placed at the mercy of the caprice of a despot, exasperated by resistance. The audience having been called

private, it has been also conjectured, that the Emperor's object might have been to insist in person upon the performance of the ko-tou, at the public reception of the embassy; and, in the event of continued resistance, at once to dismiss the Embassador: this is certainly a more favourable explanation of his sentiments, but I confess, that a disappointment in this design will scarcely account for his subsequent violence.

It is of importance to state, that Lord Amherst never positively refused to attend the Emperor, if his Majesty should have persisted in his commands when informed of his indisposition and fatigue; in fact, the decided opposition was to personal violence, and to visiting the Koong-yay's apartments. These probably were situated so near the room where the Emperor actually was, that Lord Amherst might have been easily hurried from them into the Imperial Presence. No good under the circumstances in which we were placed would have resulted from the proposed audience; and although the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen were most unbecoming

and disagreeable, any violence actually offered in the Imperial Presence, and the consequent resistance, might have led to insults more embarrassing and offensive. Yin was active in his attentions during this boisterous day, and therefore stands much higher in our estimation than his colleague Chang. Yin pretended to say, that it was never the intention that we should have really departed; this, however, it is difficult to believe, as the orders were so precise and peremptory.

We had a good view of the walls of Pekin on our return; like those of Tong-chow, they are built of brick, with a foundation of stone; they are of considerable thickness, the body of them being of mud, so that the masonry may be considered a facing; there is not, however, sufficient strength at the top to allow of guns of large calibre being mounted in the embrasures. At all the gates, and at certain intervals, there are towers of immense height, with four ranges of embrasures, intended for cannon: I saw none actually mounted, but in their stead there were some imitations in wood. Besides the tower, a wooden

building of several stories marked the gateways; one of these buildings was highly decorated; the projecting roofs, diminishing in size according to their height, were covered with green and yellow tiles, that had a very brilliant effect under the rays of the sun. A wet ditch skirted the part of the walls round which we were carried. Pekin is situated in a plain; its lofty walls, with their numerous bastions and stupendous towers, certainly give it an imposing appearance, not unworthy the capital of a great empire. On the side near Hai-teen we crossed a large common, wholly uncultivated; a remarkable circumstance so near Pekin. There are large tracts of ground covered with the nelumbium, or water-lily, near the walls, which, from the luxuriant vegetation of this plant, are extremely grateful to the eye. The Tartarean mountains, with their blue and immeasurable summits, are the finest objects in the vicinity of Pekin: to many of the party the streets of Pekin might be the great points of attraction, but to myself a visit to this stupendous range would be a source of much higher gratification.

Having given up my chair to an invalid, I returned in one of the carts: the motion was bearable till we came on the paved road, when the jolting became intolerable; it was a repeated dislocation of every part of the frame; each jolt seemed sufficient to have destroyed life, which yet remained to undergo the dreadful repetition. The elements combined with the imperial displeasure to annoy us; the rain fell in torrents; not, however, so violently as to deter the spectators from indulging their curiosity by thrusting lanterns into the chairs and carts to have a fuller view of our persons. I certainly never felt so irritated in my life. To be exposed to such indecent curiosity while suffering considerable pain from the jolting was too much for the best tempers to bear patiently, and produced in me something not far removed from phrensy. The darkness, holes in the road, and heavy rain, rendered walking almost impracticable, which, however, I attempted, and should have persisted, had I not apprehended being separated from the rest of the party. Although Soo had asserted that our march that night was to have been

limited to twenty lees, we were carried without halting to our boats at Tong-chow, which we reached at three o'clock in the morning on the 30th.

30th of August.—One of the linguists, formerly mentioned, Achow, whom we saw for the first time at Hai-teen, had preceded us to announce our approach. The quarters we had occupied before our departure have been shut up, and the triumphal gateway taken down, marking our fallen fortunes. The boats, however, are by no means, *à pis aller*, to be rejected; indeed it was more in compliance with the urgent entreaties of Yin and Chang, than with our own inclination, that we had moved our quarters before. The baggage, stores, and presents, are gradually arriving, and every preparation continues to be made for our departure. Chang late in the evening came to Lord Amherst, hinting that some presents from the Emperor to the Prince Regent had been received by the Chinchaes. They soon followed, bearing with them the intended presents, consisting of a large joo-yee or sceptre, formed of a stone allied to agate, greenish-white in colour,

and symbolically expressive of contentment; the handle of the joo-yee is flat and carved, not very unlike that of a ladle; the top is of a circular shape, something like the leaf of the water-lily: there was also a Mandarin's necklace, of green and red stones, and a few beads of coral, with a red ornament, set round with pearls, attached to it; to these were added a few embroidered purses. The Imperial Commissioners, in delivering these presents, communicated the Emperor's wish to have a few articles in return. The articles selected were the pictures of the King and Queen, a case of maps, and some coloured prints*. As it was desirable, with reference to the interests of the East India Company, to part on good terms, the proposal was readily assented to.

Lord Amherst requested to be informed what account he was to give of his dismissal to his Sovereign: the only reason assigned was his refusal to obey the Emperor's

* The court etiquette is, not to receive the whole of the presents; and the Portuguese Embassador had great difficulty in inducing the Emperor to depart from this usage.

commands respecting his immediate attendance, which was described as a mark of peculiar favour: in reply, the circumstances that had occurred were adverted to, but the discussion was not protracted, the Mandarins being more anxious to exculpate themselves from having had any share in the transactions of which we complained, than to examine the causes or justice of our dismissal. This proposed exchange of presents may be considered a proof of the Emperor's rage having partially subsided, and certainly, looking to our return, is not to be regretted. The sceptre or joo-yee* is of equal value, but somewhat inferior in workmanship to that presented to the King by Kien-Lung.

31st of August.—The shipment of presents and stores continues; some few articles of private baggage are still missing. We learn from the linguist Achow, that our dismissal is attributed to the pretended rudeness with which we treated the Princes and other persons of distinction that came

* The stone from which the joo-yees are made is found in the Yn-yu-shan, a mountain in the province of Kiang-nan.

to visit us; they made an unfavourable report to the Emperor, and probably assigned the worst motive for our reluctance to attend him immediately. I must confess this does not seem improbable.

In passing the walls of Tong-chow, and other places on the road, we observed an imperial edict, prohibiting women from appearing in the streets, and exposing themselves to the gaze of the English Embassador and his attendants. In vain—female curiosity was not to be overcome even by the apprehensions of incurring the displeasure of the Son of Heaven; and the red flowers were not unfrequent in the heads of the spectators: they certainly had the advantage over us, their appearance having nothing to attract the eye or flatter the vanity in being the objects of their attention.

The portraits of the King and Queen having been taken out of the packages, that the Chinese might see them placed in the proper point of view, Lord Amherst, to mark the respect he entertained towards his own Sovereign, made a point of publicly saluting the portrait of his Majesty in the

same manner as had been practised by him to the yellow curtain at Tien-sing, much to the dissatisfaction of Kwang, of whose good disposition some begin to entertain doubts.

Although the demonstrations of respect have diminished, those of apprehension and jealousy are still attended to. My walk this evening through the millet fields was accompanied by soldiers, who seemed more disposed to regulate its duration and direction than before.

1st of September.—Some missing articles of our baggage are not arrived, and a strong remonstrance has been made upon the subject: our departure will, therefore, probably not take place till to-morrow or next day. Chang informed Mr. Morrison that the Koong-yay and the judge of Pekin had followed us to Tong-chow: whether this be connected with diplomatic negotiation or police is uncertain; the former would probably lead to a return to Pekin, the latter only signifies absurd suspicion. I have heard that the indecent curiosity expressed by the Princes in the antichamber at Yuen-min-yuen was not un-

usual; such is their conduct to all strangers, who are literally made the lions of the court. On comparing accounts, we have all agreed that there was a striking change in our *cortège* on the return from Pekin: no soldiers attended to clear the way, no men with lights to point out the road; we were literally abandoned to ourselves, the darkness, and the elements. The flags, announcing us as bearers of tribute, have been taken from the boats; no others have been yet substituted.

I this day examined the wooden collar called kang*, which is fixed on the necks of convicted felons as a punishment: it is a square board, thirty inches wide, with an aperture for the head; it is worn diagonally, which enables the bearer to rest the corner upon a stone while sitting.

When two Chinese quarrel they generally seize each other by the tails, which they twist violently; both often fall to the ground, and it is surprising to see how long they can endure such acute pain; their eyes seem bursting from their

* These collars are of various sizes and weights, according to the crime for which the punishment is inflicted.

sockets, the whole countenance is distorted, and I am convinced that pugilists of the best bottom must yield in such a contest from utter incapacity to bear the dreadful suffering: though violent to madness in gesture and language, they seldom proceed to action, and I have seen a smart tap from a fan satisfy extreme rage; when, however, they actually have recourse to blows, they fight most foully, and death has been known to ensue from a kick.

The present disposition of the Chinese was shewn yesterday on the occasion of a beggar standing up when Lord Amherst passed by him; the man was instantly ordered by a Mandarin to sit down, the British Embassador not being now considered deserving of respect even from the lowest class of society. Unless these feelings subside as we recede from the capital, our journey will not be very agreeable.

CHAPTER IV.

Commencement of journey to Canton—Reflections on occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen—Arrival at Tien-sing—Departure—Progress—Report of Lipoo received at Tong-chow—Remarks upon it—Pekin Gazette—Interview with judge of Pe-tche-lee—Arrival at Sang-yuen.

SECOND of September.—There would now seem no chance of reprieve. We commenced our journey to the coast after breakfast. Canton is said to be the place of our destination: our past experience will not, however, allow us to place much reliance upon Chinese assertions, and if the ships should be still at Chusan when we arrive in the vicinity, I shall not be surprised by our being dispatched from thence. Several little comforts have been taken from our boats, and we shall probably have frequent reason to complain of neglect during our journey. We are again among a crowd of junks, which are only interesting from giving us occasional glimpses of Chinese women of a better description than those seen in the streets; they are very chary of themselves,

scarcely allowing our profane eyes to dwell upon them for a moment. The dark complexions of labouring men (of the same hue as East Indians) prove that the sun must be more powerful in this province of China, than in other countries within the same parallel of latitude. Is this circumstance connected with the flat nature of the country, and the general want of shade? A complete change must be made in the dress of the inhabitants during the winter. In this season a shirt and trowsers, often only the latter, compose the dress of all classes within doors, and of the lower and middling orders throughout the day.

The treatment of the embassy at Yuen-min-yuen still forms a frequent subject of conversation amongst us. New incidents arise confirming a belief in the Chinese having deceived us, by a pretended compliance upon the point of ceremony: the party was purposely separated, and all the Mandarins employed in conducting the cavalcade were in an unusual bustle as we approached the scene. Soo and Kwang, to remove the suspicions or objections

which Lord Amherst might have entertained as to alighting at any other place but the residence appointed for him, assured his Lordship at Yuen-min-yuen, that it was only proposed to take some refreshment with the Koong-yay, although they must have been perfectly aware of the real intention. All were, more or less, parties to the assertion made at Tong-chow, that we were to be received on the 8th of the moon with our proffered ceremonial. I must confess that Ho cautiously avoided at Tong-chow stating specifically the Emperor's consent to dispense with the Tartar ceremony; he however said enough to convey a decided impression that the business had been settled to our satisfaction, and the fact was stated in the most detailed manner by Kwang, who was left behind by the Koong-yay apparently for this express purpose. The Canton linguist, Achow, has reported that Soo has been degraded to a blue button; the Koong-yay has also incurred the Imperial displeasure, and Kwang is dismissed from his office in the salt department. This trip to Canton is probably an additional punishment. It

is understood that the duties hitherto performed by Chang and Yin will, after leaving Tien-sing, be transferred to the officers of the districts through which we pass. Chang, who had been at Canton early in life, would have preferred, under other circumstances, to have accompanied us.

3rd of September.—There is not the difference I expected in our progress downwards. The stream is not rapid, and the trackers to the large boats being very few in number, and those not always employed, the present scarcely exceeds our former rate. Our supplies have been diminishing, and to-day they entirely failed; representations have been made, and articles privately purchased. Our situation is most unpleasant; the affectation of Imperial hospitality forbids purchasing, while the indifference to our comforts, produced by the circumstances under which the embassy is returning, exposes us to inconvenience, and indeed to real privation. It is still said that Soo and Kwang are to be fined to the full amount of our expenses, and if this be true, we cannot be surprised at the inadequacy of the supplies, the district

officers very naturally not feeling sure of repayment.

Mr. Morrison's conversation with Chang this day has thrown much light upon the causes of our sudden dismissal from Yuen-min-yuen. The apparent consent at Tong-chow was a deception of Ho*, Koong-yay, whose great object was to get the Embassador to Pekin. The hints thrown out at the conference on the 27th of August gave him reason to believe, that Lord Amherst might be induced by certain concessions to perform the ko-tou; these concessions appearing to him reasonable, he was not without hopes of prevailing on the Emperor to accede; at the same time he did not feel justified in entering into any positive engagement; this, however, was required by Lord Amherst. The Koong-yay, therefore, had recourse to deception, and by asserting the Emperor's consent to receive the Embassador on his own terms, secured his removal to Pekin. The Emperor's resolution to see us on the 7th de-

* Although the Chinese have generally two or more names, the first is the one used; their usage in this as in many other instances, directly opposed to us.

feated this plan, which was in some degree favourable to our views. Whether it was intended that we should have been barely seen by his Imperial Majesty from his chair in passing, or whether we were to have been called upon for the ko-tou, is not yet clear; it is, however, certain that no regular audience without that ceremony was to have been granted. The Emperor's determination to receive us on the 7th was taken without a reference to our being all night on the road; whatever, therefore, was to have been the mode of our reception, the aggravation of its occurring under circumstances of fatigue was not intentional. Our immediate dismissal was caused by its being reported to the Emperor, that the plea of illness was a mere pretext, and his being thereby highly incensed. His Majesty was also much offended by Ho not stating the fact of the Embassador having travelled all night, which apparently would have been considered the most reasonable excuse for his wishing to avoid an immediate audience. The Koong-yay has been removed from some of his employments, and even Moo-ta-jin, who

has literally only lent his person to the conferences, having throughout maintained an invincible silence, has not escaped degradation.

Mr. Morrison paid Chang at his request another visit in the evening, to meet the Ngan-chatsze or Judge of Pe-chee-lee, who has accompanied us from Tong-chow to superintend our supplies and general progress. This Mandarin is well versed in all the accounts published by the missionaries of Europe, and lost no time in displaying his knowledge to Mr. Morrison: the general scope of his statement, besides the exhibition of his own acquirements, was to lower the relative importance of England with respect to the other European nations, and to establish the absurdity of our Sovereign pretending to compete with the Emperor of China. Though acquainted with the name and situation of the Ghoorkas*, and asserting that his judicial authority extended nearly to their confines, he did not advert to the late war in Nepaul, a proof that the interest taken by the Chi-

* I was not at this time aware of the occurrences on the Nepaul frontier.

nese government in the affairs of that country has been exaggerated. The Judge considered the Ghoorkas as tributary to the Emperor.

Our friendly intercourse with Chang was renewed by his calling while we were yet at table; habitually he abstains from wine for reasons of health, and on this occasion infinitely preferred raspberry vinegar and water. The Chinese in general like our sweet wines and cordials better than those more usually consumed by ourselves. Whatever may have been the assertions of former travellers, my experience leads me to consider them scarcely less addicted to the use of spirituous liquors than Europeans; it is only their superior sense of decorum that prevents them from exhibiting themselves as often in public under the influence of intoxication. Glass ware of all descriptions is much sought after by them, and our common wine bottles are not unacceptable.

Those who have talents for observation, or powers of description, may possibly find wherewithal to occupy the eye and the pen. Millet fields, willow-groves,

junks, half-clothed inhabitants with little eyes and long tails, women with prettily-dressed hair but ugly faces; these are the daily and unchanging objects, and from these I cannot eke out any thing like interesting description. With respect to the moral qualities of the people, it would be presumption to form any opinion founded upon actual experience; we have little private communication with the natives, and even that, to those like myself who are ignorant of the language, is carried on by gestures; on the other hand it would be unfair to form any estimate from our intercourse with the Government. Points of importance to both parties have been brought to issue; the Chinese have employed intimidation and deceit to effect their object; they have failed, and disappointment has produced rudeness. Those who landed with an impression that the Chinese were to be classed with the civilized nations of Europe have no doubt seen reason to correct their opinion; those, on the contrary, who in their estimate ranged them with the other nations of Asia, will have

seen little to surprise in the conduct either of the Government or of individuals. The leading characteristic feature is the influence of established usage. The every-day behaviour of individuals, whatever be their rank, is fixed by rules seldom infringed. The despotism of the Sovereign is subordinate to the despotism of manner; the highest degree of civilization that has ever prevailed is nearer nature than the artificial system, certainly far removed from so exalted a standard, that regulates the daily habits of this people; and the only positive conclusion at which I have yet arrived, is that the Chinese are a most uninteresting nation. They are described as courteous in their mutual intercourse, and their rudeness towards strangers is attributed to a belief of their inferiority, and a distrust of their good conduct. Such is certainly the policy of the Government, and such, from the prevalence of the same principles, throughout every branch of the community, are probably the sentiments of individuals. Chinese children, above the lower orders, are like other Asiatics, grave and *manieré*. The

mind would seem to be treated here like the feet of the women, cramped by the bandages of habit and education, till it acquires an unnatural littleness. But here I catch myself running into the very error I wish to avoid, substituting conclusions for observation; so reluctant is the human understanding to remain in suspense.

4th of September.—The weather still continues hot; in our boat the thermometer stands at eighty-five degrees throughout the day. I was not before aware that the ko-tou is to be viewed as an act of religious adoration, which, though paid to the Emperor, is refused to some of the inferior deities. The judge, in the course of his lecture yesterday evening upon European affairs, observed to Chang, that possibly our religion forbad our performing the ko-tou; this admission was not, however, made apologetically, but rather to reprehend our erroneous notions upon the subject.

Our boats stopped at one o'clock to purchase provisions; the best grapes we have yet seen have been procured here; it is really surprising, that with abundance of grapes, the Chinese should remain sa-

tisfied with the liquor made from rice. A rough estimate gives from five to six hundred as the number of persons connected with the embassy proceeding together down the river; it must therefore require some arrangement to secure a regular supply of provisions. The name of the village where we stopped is Khu-shee-yoo, and I collected from the boatmen, that there is another large village within a short distance. Some troops, including a small detachment of the monsters, were drawn out, probably in honour of the judge, and a salute fired on his departure. He is of sufficient rank to correspond directly with the Emperor.

5th of September.—We anchored yesterday at dinner-time for the night, on account of the weather, which looked threatening; this gave us an opportunity of taking a walk, the only amusement afforded in this dreadfully dull journey. Regular watch is kept from sunset to sunrise; in going their rounds some of the watchmen strike an oblong piece of wood hollowed with a round stick, and others a small gong or loo: the sound of both is

most melancholy, the former much louder than the appearance of the implement would seem to indicate. There was a heavy fall of rain during the night, and the climate had undergone a complete change by daylight; it felt like the close of autumn in England; the height of the thermometer was fifty-nine degrees at sunrise, and at four o'clock it had not risen to more than sixty-seven. We did not quit our anchorage till eleven, and as the whole of this delay cannot be attributed to weather, we have begun to form various conjectures; all our wishes are against a return to Pekin, from which our determined resistance to the ceremony would prevent any public advantage, or probably individual enjoyment, being derived; the slowness of our progress may, however, arise from the arrangements making at Tiensing for the future transportation of the more bulky articles. It is proposed to send them by sea.

I visited a small miao or temple, dedicated, as I was informed, to the God of Fire; the idol was a short figure seated on a throne, holding a drawn sword in one

hand, and a serpentine ring in the other; two dwarf-like figures stood near him, each with rings: there were three other figures, less perfect, on the side of the building. This miao was under repair, and the workmen were cooking their victuals in the very sanctum. Religion seems to sit very easily on the Chinese. In their feelings on this head they resemble the ancient Pagans; the worship of the gods forms part of their civil institutions and daily habits, but never deeply influences their passions. It would be wrong to attribute the late edicts against Christians to religious persecution; they arose from an alleged connexion with the malcontents, not, I understand, without foundation.

I had a visit from Chang, partly to apologize for the deficiency of provisions complained of some days ago: he requested that in future none should be purchased, and in the event of the supply being inadequate, application should be addressed to him, that he might make the required disbursement, which he was authorized to do, on account of Kwang, who was ordered by the Emperor to defray the

expenses of the embassy. He took occasion to inform me of his being superior in permanent rank to the imperial commissioner, and described himself as having a large extent of country under his jurisdiction. Common rumour among the Chinese says, that the Emperor has been much incensed with those who concealed from him the circumstance of the Embassador's having travelled all night, and being thereby too much fatigued to attend him immediately. About four o'clock we passed Tsay-tsung, where we halted on our way upwards, while Soo and Kwang made their reference to Pekin. We are to reach Tien-sing to-morrow; our stay there will be probably two days.

6th of September.—The weather is something warmer than yesterday; thermometer in the morning sixty-five degrees. About nine we passed a building said to be a Mahomedan mosque; there are several of this religion in the province: they are not regarded with any jealousy, and are, I fancy, eligible to all offices. They eat beef, from which Chinese in general abstain, considering it cruel to slay so use-

ful an animal for food. Buildings with handsome roofs, and the increasing throng of population, mark our approach to Tiensing. A long line of soldiers with flags near some py-loos were drawn out to do honour to Ching-ta-jin the Ngan-chatzse —for alas! we are now shorn of our beams, and dare not take these military honours to ourselves. The soldiers knelt as the boats passed. Chinese gunners would seem much afraid of their own deeds: they immediately retreat upon applying the match, squatting down at a short distance with their backs turned; the iron tube is always placed upright, so that every possibility of danger from the wadding is guarded against.

The timber trees for general use in house and boat building are cut into spars of from seven to eight feet long, as it is said, for the convenience of transportation. I had forgotten to mention that we anchored last night near a large village where there was a temporary building with a stage carried out into the water, lights, and other preparations indicating a public meeting: under other circumstances we

might have flattered ourselves that some good awaited us; all was, however, intended for the accompanying Mandarins, who had a long conference on shore.

We may infer that the mutual suspicion of the Mandarins is considerable, from the Ngan-chatzse not venturing to accept a small present offered to him by Lord Amhert, lest it should come to Kwang's knowledge, and through him to the Emperor, who is most severe against the semblance of bribery in public officers. His Lordship has, however, hinted, that on leaving us he may probably overcome his fears.

We reached Tien-sing soon after twelve, and we anchored exactly in the same spot as before: the crowd of spectators is equally great, and their heads as closely packed. Men wearing conical caps * have been most active in keeping a space clear near the boats; they are not, like the soldiers, satisfied with striking the ground,

* These, I afterwards learnt, were the public executioners, and that the shape of their caps was one of ancient form, which the Chinese, at the Tartar conquest, were most anxious to retain. The sanctity of the tombs of their ancestors, was another and more reasonable object of their anxiety.

but apply their long whips most lustily to the shoulders of the gaping multitude. At night we observed a ceremony said to be in honour of the full moon; a boat moved along the shore, and dropped, at certain intervals, small paper lanterns of various colours, which were suffered to fall down the stream; the light reflected through the brilliant colours of the lanterns had a very pretty effect. I have been struck with the vividness of the crimson dye of this paper (also used by the Chinese in their fruit-baskets) which surpasses, I think, any that I have before seen. Another illumination, and the horrid din of instrumental music, led us to conjecture that a marriage or a funeral (for the noise is said to be the same) is carrying on in the vicinity. I can only regret that our situation precludes all hope of seeing any of these domestic ceremonies.

I find that some of my companions are much struck with the wretched appearance of the lower orders, and thereby disposed to accuse former travellers of exaggeration. Compared with other countries of Asia, I should, on the contrary, say that

China presents an aspect of great prosperity; the season has as yet required little clothing, and, on the approach of cold weather, our boatmen have not seemed to want suitable apparel. I am disposed to give great credit both to the older and more modern writers for accuracy of description in every thing that strikes the eye. The missionaries in general extol the moral character of the people and the political resources of the empire: of the latter, they were probably little qualified to form an opinion; and of the former, kind personal treatment will lead men to take very different views. Like other Asiatics, the Chinese are affectionate in the treatment of their children, and their civil institutions enforce reciprocity of good conduct. A son in China is never of age: the act of begetting inflicts servitude until the death of the parent emancipates him. To judge from a trivial circumstance that came out in the course of conversation with Chang, ladies have their full share of influence in Chinese families; for on inquiring from Chang whether his son, a lad of eighteen, was still with him,

he answered in the negative, saying, that he had been obliged to send him back to his mother, who could not endure being separated from him.

7th of September.—The design of sending the presents by sea appears to be given up, and none of the boats will be changed till we reach Shan-tung; our delay here arises from Kwang having to deliver over charge of his office in the salt department to his successor. Chang's situation of Tao-tai must be of some importance, as the number of visits from subordinate officers compelled him last night to take refuge in his boat. He is superior to a governor of city or Foo. I had a short walk through the quarter of the town nearest to us, but did not succeed in getting across the water, the soldiers ordering one of the boats forming the bridge to slip as we approached. The druggists' shops were well furnished; too extensively, I should suppose, from the low state of medical knowledge in China, for the health of their patients. Butchers' shops were remarkably clean, and the meat looked so good, that I suspect our supplies must be

of a very inferior quality to what might be procured. Exterior appearance is so exclusively the object of attention, that the axes carried before police officers are merely painted wood: indeed, the whole paraphernalia of magistracy resemble gingerbread ornaments, or masquerade decoration. The streets of Tien-sing are narrow, and the dead walls of all the dwelling-houses facing the street give them a most gloomy appearance; in wet weather they become a perfect slough. Our olfactory nerves will have been so saturated with stench, that the absence of smell will probably overpower us when restored to a pure atmosphere: there literally prevails a compound of villanous stenches, and this constitutes one of the principal inconveniences of the crowd that gather round us.

A second walk through the suburb did not afford much additional amusement or observation: a funeral passed us, accompanied by mourners, male and female, whose grief was so violent and regularly timed, that I concluded them to be hired; the women were in chairs covered with

white cloth, the mourning colour in China; the caps on the heads of the mourners were shaped like the working caps of mechanics in England: I was disappointed in the coffin itself, which was quite plain; the frame that supported it was gilt, and made of immense beams of timber; some figures of women, nearly as large as life, and full drest, were carried in the front; on the outside of the bier I remarked a gilt head-piece of wood, probably indicating the profession of the deceased.

In a cabinet-maker's shop we saw some handsome chairs of carved wood, decorated with peacocks; the plumage was real, and only the bodies artificial; the legs hung down from the top, not unlike fowls in a poulterer's shop. I could not succeed in purchasing a large glass-case, filled with gilt toys, representing Chinese ladies and gentlemen, boats, bridges, and all the features of the country residence of a man of rank.

The occupations of mealman and miller seemed joined here, as we observed all kinds of grain grinding in a mill turned by an ass, in the shops where the original ar-

ticle was sold: the upper millstone is large and cylindrical, and to its extreme ends ropes are fastened, by which the ass draws; the flour thus ground was coarse. We shall in future, in making purchases, be particularly on our guard against the soldiers who accompany us; they always encouraged, and in some instances suggested, the impositions of the shopkeepers, for the purpose of having a larger booty to share. A Chinese dwelling-house is, as I have already said, shut towards the street by the outward wall; and even when the gate is opened, a skreen of masonry fronting the entrance, and considerably exceeding it in width, intercepts the view: these houses are divided into courts, each forming a range of apartments; a large hall, and small rooms leading from it, is the most usual distribution. Great variety of articles were sold in every shop, and, except the druggists, I observed few shops appropriated to the sale of one commodity only. A black mass, looking like caviare, proved to be soy mixed with salt, with something to give the mixture consistency. In examining the tools of the

mechanics, and the interiors of the shops, I was struck with the extreme correctness of all the accounts I have read of China. Scientific researches may be scanty, but every thing that meets the eye of the mere traveller in China has been described with the utmost accuracy.

8th of September.—Our keepers (for we are literally conveyed through the country with as little volition on our parts as wild beasts) moved us this morning: after rounding the bank in the direction of the walls of the city, we entered the Eu-ho river, the boats being tracked against the stream. The suburbs continued for two miles, and the shops and buildings here had a much better appearance than on the opposite bank: among the rest were several small Miaos or temples. In the crowd of spectators I observed more women than on any former occasion; the feet of several were fine specimens of distortion: as far as the instep they are left of the natural size, and the compression there brings them suddenly to a point. In Chinese crowds, the pipes held over the heads of the men

have a very peculiar effect. After an interval of millet fields, we passed another suburb or village; there was a raised road a few yards from the path, worn by the trackers, which may possibly be the commencement of that described by Sir George Staunton. A small py-loo, open on all sides, with a highly decorated roof, and an inscription dedicating it to the river Nan-yuen Ho, (i. e. Southward carrying river), stands on the right bank, about three miles from the city. This building was an interesting object, as fixing the name of the river, and connecting the superstitions of the Chinese with those of India and of ancient Europe.

While at dinner, another funeral passed along the bank; the bier the same as that at Tien-sing: among the figures carried before it were those of a tiger, marking the military profession of the deceased, an armed man on horseback, and a lady mounted on an ostrich. I have reason to believe that the mourners, so loud in their grief, are the relations of the deceased person, who are expected to attend the funeral. At a short distance

from the river I saw some curious brick buildings, shaped like a vase, narrowing at the base and top, of the height of a village church steeple, said to be the tombs of distinguished Hoshungs, or priests of the god Fo; the brick-work near the top was very ornamental. We soon after passed a modern pagoda or paou-ta, with small projections or stories: these modern structures are very inferior to the more ancient towers, now very rare in the country, from their being suffered to moulder away. A watch-tower, in ruins, gave us an opportunity to examine its structure: the brick-work was about four feet in thickness, with an opening in the interior sufficient for a staircase, leading to the platform; on the top there were embrasures, but the parapet wall was not of sufficient thickness to admit of cannon being mounted; the form is a square. The banks of the river are in most places cultivated with vegetables, and the grounds are laid out with particular neatness; the stalks of the kaoleang, employed to form a treillage for supporting a species of French bean, give to the humblest spots of the kitchen

garden an elegant appearance. I fancied that the grounds of individuals, or of villages, were separated by the groves of willows and poplars that occurred at regular intervals.

We continued our journey after sunset, and when the moon rose in her full silvery brightness, the scene was highly beautiful; her beams tinged the darkness of the groves with light, while her image in the water varied, every moment, with the eddies of the stream. As we advanced, the long line of lanterns, hung at the mast-heads of the boats, changed its direction with the frequent windings of the river; the red lanterns, from the judge's boat, closing in the line, marked the limits of the fleet: all around was tranquillity, and yet the objects were ever changing; it was a scene to harmonize the most disturbed mind. To me a fine night has ever been an object of the highest enjoyment: I could sometimes fancy, that one then might hold converse with natures of a higher order: it would be unnatural, at such an hour, to allow an unworthy thought to cross the mind; all without is pure and

tranquil brightness, and the best feelings of man's heart rise to welcome the beauty of the universe. We passed several villages, and anchored for the night at the town of Yang-leu-ching, thirty-five lees, or twelve miles, from Tien-sing; there was a respectable looking house near the anchorage, belonging to a Mandarin: this, probably, is the ordinary stage, as there were several boats at anchor. The river is considerably wider here.

9th of September.—In the course of a walk after breakfast, I visited a temple dedicated to the Eternal Mother, or principal Chinese female divinity. The figure of the goddess had a white cloth thrown over it, and a crown on the head; in her hand she held a leaf: there were two attendant figures, of smaller size, in the same shrine; some other figures were placed near the wall on one side of the temple. If we were to judge from the state of the temples we have hitherto seen, we should conclude that religion was on the decline in China, as all these buildings are going to ruin. Chang has received information to be relied upon, of his appointment to

be judge of the province of Shan-tung, and I suppose the presents sent this day to the Embassador and to the gentlemen of the embassy were made in consequence: his conduct in general has been so kind, that all are pleased with his elevation.

The reaping-hook used in cutting the kaoleang has a very long handle and short blade, rather resembling a scythe than a reaping-hook. Irrigation is employed to the garden cultivation near the banks: a simple wheel and axle is used to raise the water from the well, dug a few yards from the river; the water is not thrown in sheets over the ground, but poured from a large earthen jar. Some men were employed, in another place, flattening rushes with a heavy roller, probably to be used in the embankment. Towards evening the banks on both sides, covered with villages, had the appearance of being a continued town; they belong to the district or arrondissement of Too-lee-ya, extending for ten lees, with little interruption, of habitations. We anchored at the further extremity. Our trackers, whether driven to it by being overworked, or underpaid, were here very insubordinate,

and the disturbance was not quelled till some of them were punished with the bamboo. The number to each of the larger boats is from twenty to twenty-five, to the second class twelve, and to the lesser seven.

10th of September.—The country much the same. We breakfasted near Shing-shi-heen, a considerable town. We passed, during the day, some fields cultivated with tobacco.

A military Mandarin, with a clear blue button, observing Abbot and myself walking on shore, invited us on board his boat, for the usual purpose of looking at us. Abbot, as the youngest, was the principal object of his attention, and he amused himself by dressing him in Chinese clothes: he seemed to live in great familiarity with his servants, and put my hat on to excite their merriment; I, in return, took his cap, and the buffoonery was complete. There was some difficulty in getting away from his kindness, and I was obliged to cut short the interview by an abrupt departure. We had, I believe, seen our friend before at Tong-chow.

In the evening Lord Amherst and the Commissioners visited Chang, to congratulate him upon his appointment: his boat was extremely well arranged; in the first apartment two secretaries were employed with a great *appareil* of business: some trifling articles that had been sent to him by the Embassador were disposed in different parts of the cabin. Chang himself took the lowest place, and received us altogether with real politeness: a preparation of pounded apricot kernels, tasting something like emulsion, was handed round. As this is often called by us almond-milk, it led to an inquiry respecting the milk-tea which was to have formed part of the ceremonial at the audience. This milk-tea, it appears, is simply milk; chaya, or tea, being affixed to the names of many beverages besides that made from the tea plant. The milk is given as a record of the Tartar origin of the reigning family. Another instance of the anxiety to preserve these recollections is, that the Emperor, on state occasions, uses a knife to divide his meat, instead of chopsticks. Though placed on

the throne of one of the greatest empires in the world, and surrounded by every concomitant of imperial greatness, the Mantchoo conquerors of China still profess to prize the simple manners of their ancestors higher than all the forms and grandeur of civilization and luxury; and wisely too, if their respect or estimation went beyond mere profession; but they, like other conquerors, have lost, after victory, the habits and energy of character which gained it. The judgeship of Shan-tung is considered the second in rank in the empire. Tong-quang-tang, our anchorage, is mentioned in the account of the last embassy, and will be remembered by me from the horrid vocal and instrumental noise, with which the Chinese soldiers attending the embassy thought proper to signify their satisfaction at Chang's appointment. Our rate and time of progress has increased, but I have not been able to form any correct estimate of the day's journey; from twenty-eight to thirty miles may be near it.

11th of September.—Lord Amherst put into my hands this morning at breakfast a

translation made and just delivered to him by Mr. Morrison, of a document* received at Tong-chow with some others from Chang, containing an official description of the ceremonies to be observed at the public audience of the Embassador. The extract from the records of the Lipoo, in which Lord Macartney's performance of the ko-tou was asserted, accompanied this document; neither were attended to at the time, the one being merely an incorrect account of what was already known, and the other being supposed to contain a description of entertainments which were not, under existing circumstances, likely to take place. The reception, according to this official paper, was to have taken place in a hall, at the upper end of which the Emperor was to have been seated on an elevated throne. An altar to the moon is represented as occupying the opposite extremity. The Embassador was to have been brought in at this end of the hall, and kneeling near the altar, he was to have delivered the Regent's letter to a Mandarin of rank, by whom it was to have been car-

* Vide Appendix, Nos. 4 and 5.

ried to another named Meën-Gan, whose place was on the level area upon which the throne itself rested: this last Mandarin was to have ascended the steps and presented the letter to his Majesty. The Embassador was then to have been conducted by the Mandarins to the level area, where kneeling, he was to have received the jooyee intended for the Regent, from the hands of Meën-Gan, by whom some questions were to have been put to him in the Emperor's name: he was next to have been conducted to the lower end of the hall, where, facing the upper part (probably the throne), he was to have performed the ko-tou with nine prostrations; afterwards he was to have been led out of the hall, and having prostrated himself once behind the row of Mandarins, he was to have been allowed to sit down; he was further to have prostrated himself with the attendant Princes and Mandarins when the Emperor drank. Two other prostrations were to have been made, the first when the milk-tea was presented to him, and the other when he had finished drinking. From the translation we may conclude that these

latter prostrations were to have been made out of the Emperor's sight, and at all events not to his person. If this document contains a correct description of the ceremonies which the Emperor would actually require, they certainly go far beyond what was in contemplation when the question of the ko-tou was considered. Compliance with the ko-tou was supposed to include merely a single performance of that ceremony in the actual presence of the Emperor, and at a reasonable distance from his person: the other four prostrations were, therefore, an addition of essentially a different character. From this account the arrangement of the place of reception would have rendered it impossible for the Embassador to have had a direct view of the presentation of the letter, and more persons were to have been interposed between him and the Emperor, than even in the case of the Dutch embassy. One prostration was to have been performed behind a row of persons, consequently out of view of the Emperor, and merely upon sitting down. Under a supposition that this document

was final upon the subject, the reception of this embassy would have been less honourable than that of any other European embassy whatever, and no proper disposition to conciliate would have gone the length of submitting to it. I must confess that could I bring myself to admit, and many will say that the pertinacity of the Chinese upon the ko-tou calls for the admission, that the paper was communicated as the Emperor's final determination, I should deeply regret that it was not noticed at the time of its delivery. Had I then seen the translation which I this day read, I should have had no hesitation as to the line of conduct to be adopted. I should not have required any opinion as to the injurious effects of compliance upon the interests of the East India Company at Canton. The point for consideration would have been, whether any advantage could have arisen from the English nation making, in the person of the Embassador, a less respectable appearance at the court of China than the other nations of Europe, and to this the most obvious and ready answer is in the negative; for I can

scarcely contemplate any concession on the part of the Emperor, which would have justified such unlimited submission. I am however, inclined to think that this document, although it related to future proceedings, had as little regard to what might actually take place, as the account of the embassy published in the Pekin Gazette, would probably have borne to the fact. The ceremonial here stated was such as the Chinese would have wished *, but not, therefore, what they would have insisted upon; nor indeed was the document itself represented to us at the time, as requiring

* Some of the circumstances mentioned in this report are, we learn from the accounts of the Portuguese and Russian embassies, the established usage of the court. The Portuguese Embassador entered by the western door, and knelt when speaking. Both Embassadors, however, delivered their credential letters into the Emperor's hands, the Portuguese by agreement, the Russian by accident, and contrary to previous arrangement. The customs of China direct the credential letter to be placed on a table; and, accordingly, Bell says, Ismailoff, as had been previously agreed, laid the letter on a table placed for that purpose, when the Emperor having beckoned him to approach, he judiciously availed himself of the opportunity to deliver the letter into his Majesty's hands. It is remarkable that the Lipoo Tribunal have been uniformly inimical to foreigners.

our consideration with a view to any other ceremonies but that of the single performance of the ko-tou: the impression, on the contrary, conveyed to us was, that the document, as containing a description of the several entertainments, was communicated for the purpose of producing compliance upon the specific point at issue. Whatever be the value of the document, as it was not noticed, considered, or translated at the time, it had no influence upon our proceedings; and when resistance to the ko-tou was recommended and adopted, no part of the additional ceremonial, more expressive of inferiority and consequently more objectionable than the ko-tou itself, was known, and therefore could not have been taken into account. It may now be brought forward to diminish the regret at our dismissal, but even in this respect it can only have real weight with those, who consider it as an irrevocable arrangement of the ceremonial. I have only another observation to make; a consent to comply with the ko-tou did not necessarily involve submission to the other ceremonies described in the docu-

ment, and resistance upon these would have as good an effect as upon the ko-tou; to my mind, better, for they would have been upon stronger grounds—the impossibility of an English Embassador submitting to a reception less honourable, than had been given to the representatives of the other crowned heads of Europe.

Soon after breakfast we passed a small hexagonal temple of three stories, in proportions, and style of architecture, the handsomest building I have yet seen. The projecting roofs were covered, but not overloaded, with ornamental carved work; the top was shaped like a bishop's mitre; a group of fine willows near it varied the different views of the building, and heightened the effect. The temple was said to be dedicated to Kwae-sing, and called the Devil Star's Temple. The clumps and groves of willows are the only beautiful features of the scenery. About twelve I observed a long wall apparently enclosing the grounds and residence of some Mandarin. I regret much not having yet had an opportunity of visiting any of these

residences, to judge of Chinese taste in laying out their grounds.

It is difficult to reconcile the respect felt by this nation for the dead with the not unfrequent instances of corpses floating down the stream, affording certainly most disagreeable spectacles. The light quivering aspen is occasionally added to the more abundant foliage of the willow. I have remarked that most of the Chinese matchlockmen have two cross sticks, of about twenty inches in length, attached to their pieces, for the purpose of a rest; among this unwarlike nation, celerity in the use of arms is not of much consequence.

At four o'clock we arrived at Tsingheen, mentioned in the former embassy. This is a walled town, the best houses and shops are in the suburbs; the walls and the town itself are falling to decay. By pushing boldly forward, some of the party succeeded in getting through the gates, an object seldom effected, from the jealousy of the Chinese respecting the interior of their towns. A Miao in the

suburbs contained several curious idols, which, however, we were able to examine but imperfectly, from its being the dusk of the evening. A bystander was kind enough to light one of the small tapers, which gave us a glimpse of the principal figures; amongst these, the first was called by the soldiers Chung-wang-hai; the meaning of the name, or the nature of the deity the figure represented, I have not been able to learn. He was seated on a throne with another male figure placed some steps below him, before whom was a table or altar. A female figure in a mantle, that I have often before remarked, was on his right hand. The male figures with full beards. The principal and the female had something in their hands, which, from being of the same shape and colour, I have hitherto considered as a leaf. Near the entrance, on each side, were two figures of men in armour standing by horses ready accoutred; the men seemed stone. A large censer, of a composition like bell-metal, was placed on one side of the inner temple. These temples, like the dwelling-houses, are divided into courts, and there

are generally idols in each. I believe that the Chinese need not yield to any nation in the number of their gods, or in their real indifference upon religious subjects. We may conjecture that the Miaos on the banks of the river are chiefly dedicated either to the great God of Water, or to the *Dii Minores* of rivers.

It would not seem to be ascertained whether the machine we observed in the grain junks be used for merely husking the rice, or for reducing it to flour. It consists of a plank four or five feet long, loaded with a heavy stone at one end, at the other a man stands, and raising the plank by his weight, the opposite end falls upon the grain placed in a trough; the weight of the stone is too great, to have no other effect but that of separating the grain from the husk. The distance from Tien-sing is something more than two hundred lees, or sixty miles.

12th of September.—We breakfasted at Shing-tchee, a town with some appearance of walls round it. Having left Tsing-heen some hours before daylight, my intention of again visiting the Miao

was thereby defeated. The ploughs I have observed in the fields are very rude in their construction; the share, of wood, does not penetrate to any depth in the soil, which indeed appears to require but little assistance from this part of agricultural labour. Manures* are, however, generally used in China, and heaps are here, as in England, collected of the scrapings of the road. There were some small orchards interspersed among the garden cultivation. Thermometer eighty degrees at three o'clock.

Sir George Staunton suggested to me in conversation, the best explanation of the document mentioned yesterday; he conceives that it was a report prepared by the Lipoo, which it was intended to bring upon the records, for the purpose of handing down the statement of the reception most gratifying to Chinese arrogance and usage. This seems highly

* Great care is taken by the Chinese in collecting human excrement, and that of other animals for this purpose: the former is most used in gardens, and is preserved, together with urine, in large jars generally sunk in the ground. The mixture is sometimes diluted with water. The hair of animals is also employed for manuring rice.

probable, and fixes the value of the paper, in estimating the propriety of the course pursued, at a much lower rate than its mere contents would at first sight establish. The principal parts of the ceremony were to have been accompanied by music; the very tunes were regulated, and, from their names, intended to convey an expression of tranquillity effected through subjugation*. It is considered not improbable by those most acquainted with the present state of China, that the Emperor's pertinacity upon ceremonial may fairly be attributed to an opinion, that the late internal commotions demand a more strict adherence to every point connected with the personality of the Sovereign than would be necessary in more tranquil times.

At night we anchored at Tsong-chow, the largest town since Tien-sing. It is a walled city, of the second order, and extends for some length on the left bank of the river. The distance from Tsing-heen is eighty lees, or about twenty-four miles.

13th of September.—We left Tsong-chow

* Vide Appendix, No. 5.

at daylight, having been much disturbed by noises of all kinds during the night. At these two last towns there have been several stages * carried into the river for the convenience of landing from the boats. At Tsing-heen the Embassador's boat having been brought opposite to a stage with decorated poles near it, led some to imagine that public honours to the embassy were about to be renewed; the delusion vanished when several others were observed along the bank. I am informed, that the soldiers drawn up occasionally on the bank belong to an establishment of river police †: some to-day had yellow facings instead of red, the usual uniform. It is curious to remark how the conceit of individuals in all countries displays itself in strutting: the Chinese are perfect masters of this art,

* These stages are called Ma-tou.

† In the cities a species of military police is established, under an officer called the Chou. A particular tribunal at Pekin, separate from that for crimes and punishment, has the general superintendance of the police of the empire; a very important duty in a country like China, where the very essence of government consists in a rigid attention to forms.

of which we had a ridiculous instance two nights since at Tsing-heen, in a Mandarin with a yellow button, whom we had seen before as an attendant to the principal Mandarin; emboldened either by our fallen fortunes, or excited by full dress, he strutted by us with an air that would have suited our visitors at Tong-chow, known to our party as the lads of Moukden.

There are spots occasionally most beautifully wooded, with, however, little variety in the trees: the willow, aspen, and a few trees resembling ash, are all that have been hitherto noticed. On these points I am compelled to trust the eyes of others; no cockney was ever more ignorant respecting trees than I am; indeed my powers of observation of visible objects in general are very limited, principally from shortness of sight, but partly from negligence. About two we passed a floodgate on the right bank, constructed for the purpose of carrying off any sudden increase of water in the river. It may be said of this stream, that the quantity of mud held in suspension almost equals the fluid;

and yet the trackers drink the water without any purification. We observed near the floodgate, a large building situated in an inclosure, with fine woods, which some said belonged to the Emperor, and others called a temple. Several of the corn junks here have four masts; the two additional are a small fore and mizen. I remarked a reaping-hook, used to the kao-leang, longer and less curved than ours.

We reached Tchuan-ho while at dinner. To judge from the crowd of spectators it would seem a considerable place; curiosity, however, is so universal, and heads are packed so close in a Chinese crowd, that this would not always be a correct mode of estimating the population. The town extends nearly one mile along the bank.

14th of September.—We passed this morning a very numerous fleet, probably one hundred sail, of large corn junks. We learn from the inscriptions on these vessels that they are distributed into divisions: from their number, and the importance of a regular supply of the more

nutritive grains to the northern province, their superintendance and navigation must be one of the most important concerns of the empire.

The women not unfrequently are employed in steering the smaller boats, and I have been much struck with their active interference in the management, when any difficulty occurs. Their hair is differently dressed in this part of the province; it is gathered less formally into a knot upon the top. Chinese women hold themselves remarkably upright, and I have scarcely yet seen even the oldest with a stoop. Cramping the feet seems general, at least I have observed no exception; perhaps the smallness of the base on which they stand is the cause of their uprightness.

There was a very large temple in ruins on the left bank; the front had nearly fallen down, and the gods were exposed to all the pitiless pelting of the storm. I do not fancy that the trade of a local deity can be a respectable occupation just now in China. This Miao was dedicated to Lao-ku-shung.

I had a visit from Chang, to take leave, as he had received a summons to attend the Emperor at Gehol without delay. Yin is also soon to leave us, and then the superintendance of our supplies will pass into the hands of the district officers. Chang called Moukden *, Moulin; but the latter may be the Chinese pronunciation of the name. The Emperor goes there to hunt. Chang expressed some alarm lest he should be called upon to attend the imperial *chasse*. He informed Sir George Staunton, that he had seen the Pekin Gazette, announcing Ho's dismissal from his offices, which was distinctly stated, to be in consequence of his having concealed from the Emperor, the fact of the Embassador having travelled all night, and having made a false statement respecting the sickness of Lord Amherst. Chang promised to shew the Gazette itself to Sir George. He also said, that the Emperor, when informed of Lord Amherst's indisposition, desired that the two Commissioners should be sent to him. If this be the fact,

* The Chinese name of Moukden is Chin-yang.

it was wholly suppressed by Ho. I am not aware that any good could have arisen from Sir George and myself having obeyed the summons; we might have been called upon to perform the ko-tou, and as compliance or resistance would have been equally embarrassing, we have reason to be obliged to Ho for the suppression. The general tenor of both Chang and Yin's observations upon our sudden dismissal, is certainly to remove the feelings of resentment that it was calculated to produce, and to throw the blame from the Emperor upon the Koong-yay. From Chang's account, the statement of some eunuchs of the palace, who among the rest came to examine us, impressed the Emperor with a disbelief of the alleged illness of the Embassador, and led to his Majesty's anger, and orders for our immediate departure.

The laws of China prohibit the employment of eunuchs by a subject; those in the imperial palace have considerable influence, and Mandarins of the first rank find it useful to court their favour. They are never raised to a higher rank than a

gold button, and not frequently to that. It is said not to be unusual for parents among the lower orders, from poverty, to castrate their children, as a qualification for service in the palace.

At dinner we were at Pu-hien, belonging to Nan-pee-hien. The houses were on both banks of the river, and the population seemed fully equal if not to exceed that of Tien-sing. Our day's journay has been eighty lees. Thermometer eighty-three. The proportion of women among the crowd increases. Throwing dust upon the mob is frequently practised by the Chinese soldiers to disperse them. The multitude seemed less orderly and obedient than elsewhere. In saluting we remark that the soldiers kneel down, exhibiting no bad criterion of the tameness and unwarlike character of this nation.

15th of September.—We reached Tung-quan-hien at twelve o'clock. The chief town of the district was on the right bank: we probably only saw the suburb, in which was a large temple. I remarked, for the first time, a figure of a stork on the roof of one of the smaller temples: on the ex-

tremities of the roofs were some ornaments, shaped like tridents. A plough was here in use, of a much better construction than that before noticed; the share was of iron, broad, and shaped like a shovel; there was a handle placed nearly over the share: the cattle, an ox and an ass, were harnessed abreast, nearly as in England. The furrows were particularly wide and deep. More variety in the species of trees has been observed to-day.

Chang performed his promise of sending a copy of the Gazette to Sir George Staunton, by whom it was translated *. The paragraph respecting the embassy began by censuring Soo and Kwang, for bringing the Embassador beyond Tien-sing, without his having complied with the required ceremonies. Ho and Moo were also blamed, for allowing him to proceed from Tong-chow without his having practised the ceremony; and for sending confused reports. The Emperor then remarks upon the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen, and severely reprehends Ho, for having

* Vide Appendix, No. 6.

concealed the truth from him; and for not stating the fact of the English Envoys having travelled all night, and being unprovided with their dresses of ceremony. Had this been communicated, the Emperor asserts, "that he would not have insisted upon their attendance till the next day; thus the ceremony would have been complete, and a return made corresponding to the feelings that had brought them from a distance of ten thousand lees to his court." Ho is said to have lost his senses, and the officers of government are blamed for not having set him right; or, if he had proved obstinate in error, for not communicating the truth to the Emperor. His Majesty also mentions, that all the great officers of state were waiting in the antichamber to assist at the audience. The account concludes with some general reflections upon the evils attending such concealment and neglect of duty in the officers of government. This document is satisfactory, inasmuch as the Emperor thinks it necessary to offer some explanation to his people (for to them only is it addressed) of the sudden dismissal of the

British embassy. His Majesty's object is evidently to throw the blame of so hasty and harsh a measure upon Ho, with what degree of injustice it is impossible to say; we may, however, reasonably hope, that the spirit which produced this explanation is contrary to the adoption of any proceeding decidedly hostile to our interests at Canton, in consequence of our refusal to perform the ko-tou; and that the embassy, therefore, will in its result, at least, prove innoxious. In short, we may infer from the regret expressed for a specific act of violence, that others of a similar character will not be resorted to. It is still to be remarked, that no prospect whatever of the ceremony being dispensed with is held out, nor does such dispensation ever seem to have been contemplated; that must continue, therefore, to be considered the rock upon which the embassy was wrecked. The sudden gust at Yuen-min-yuen may have hastened our sinking, but the end must have been the same; and perhaps many of our crew rejoice that it occurred, as an opportunity was thereby given to display their daring

energy and determination. For my part, as I undertook the voyage to these distant seas more for profit than reputation, I cannot but regret that I have lost the opportunity of bringing my venture into the market*.

Lord Amherst having consented to Chang's proposal of meeting Ching-ta-jin, the judge of Pe-chee-lee, his Lordship and myself went to Chang's boat as soon as it anchored for the night at Lien-hien. We were prepared for the judge's loquacity, and he certainly did not disappoint our expectations. Little was said by Lord Amherst, Ching-ta-jin seldom making a pause even for breath. He observed that unfortunate mistakes had occurred; that

* This passage has, the author believes, been misunderstood, and therefore calls for explanation. On comparing it with the preceding sentence, it will readily be perceived, that both are figurative. The word "profit" alludes to the commercial objects of the embassy, and the word "venture" to the proposition of them consequent to its reception. With respect to "reputation," it was not unnatural that the author should have anticipated but little increase, either to his colleagues or to himself, from ceremonial intercourse, which was the probable limit of the public proceedings with a nation so jealous and impracticable as the Chinese.

the business had been ill managed; and that the blame rested with Ho: the Emperor was too reasonable, and much too graciously disposed to have dismissed the Embassador so suddenly had the facts been truly stated to him. He allowed that there was much improper hurry throughout. Ching-ta-jin maintained the absolute necessity of the ko-tou being performed; there were, he said, reasons that rendered it impossible for the Emperor to dispense with it. His Imperial Majesty, he said, was not greater, nor we lower, by the performance; that the ko-tou did not constitute us tributaries; and that there was a material difference in the treatment of Envoys from tributary states, particularly in the point of sitting upon cushions*. Of seven presidents of tribunals, three had been removed from their situations, in consequence of their misconduct on this occasion. The judge assured us, that we might, notwithstanding all that

* The privilege of sitting on cushions before the throne of the Emperor is only possessed by the Princes and highest Mandarins. It is not unlike the honour of the Tabouret, conferred in the court of France.

had occurred, remain confident of the Emperor's gracious protection; and need feel no uneasiness respecting our treatment during the continuance of our journey. He frequently reminded us that these observations were not to be considered official.

Lord Amherst having mentioned the precedent of the Russian embassy in the reign of Kang-hi, who had himself proposed an alternative of the same nature as that which Lord Amherst had suggested, Ching-ta-jin, after much irrelevant discourse respecting the Russian empire, said that the Chinese account was very different; that the Emperor Kang-hi had directed a Mandarin of the fifth rank to prostrate himself before the altar of the God of Heaven, that is, the God of the Christians*; in return for which the Russian Embassador performed the ko-tou. In no part of this conversation did the judge admit the possibility of the ceremony being dispensed with: he indeed allowed that the Embassador's reasoning

* This statement is not inconsistent with the superiority possessed by the Emperor over some of the Dii Minores.

might not have been fairly stated to the Emperor; but he could not help thinking that the obvious necessity of compliance had not been clearly explained: he at one time jocosely said, "is nothing to be done to get you to Tartary?" There was so little seriousness in his manner that the observation was not noticed: he took occasion to display his knowledge of Europe, collected from a work in the Chinese language, probably composed by some missionary. His notions of France and Italy were tolerably correct, not so those respecting Great Britain, which he supposed was not under the rule of one sovereign. The judge's manner was, on the whole, civil, but the result of the interview did not repay the discomfort of bearing with his loquacity for near two hours. As he is to quit us on the frontiers of Shan-tung, he took his leave of Lord Amherst. The presents which had been sent to him by the Embassador, he felt himself, under present circumstances, compelled to decline, although he honestly confessed that they would have been most acceptable. An imperial entertainment

he informed us would, according to established usage, have been given the Embassador on his entering the province of Shan-tung; this, however, would now be dispensed with.

There were several landing-places with decorated pyloos prepared along the bank at Lien-hien, and a temporary hall of reception prettily illuminated with variegated lanterns was erected a little beyond the boats. Some of these lanterns had a constant rotatory motion, and from the variety and brilliancy of the colours, produced a very good effect; comfortable sentry-boxes made of poles and matting were placed at regular distances, also decorated and illuminated; the whole looked more like a scene in a pantomime than sober reality: the profusion of lights give all night scenes in China a characteristic brilliancy and gaiety of appearance.

16th of September.—The climate in the morning was extremely agreeable, influenced by a strong northerly wind, and we succeeded in an unmolested walk before breakfast. At twelve our attention was excited by the figures of two horses

in warlike trappings, executed in stone, standing in a stubble field. We landed to examine them, and found the sculpture of the horses themselves extremely rude, but the saddles and housings in better style; the material seemed to be a porphyritic granite. We could not obtain any correct account of them upon the spot; they were supposed to belong to the monument of some person buried there. I this day saw the pan-tze inflicted upon one of the boatmen, and was surprised at the comparative lenity of the punishment; the strokes, twenty-five in number, were inflicted on the back part of the thighs with a half bamboo, six feet long and two inches wide; so little force was used, that the suffering did not certainly exceed that of a tolerably severe flogging at school. The culprit, according to the established usage, returned thanks when the punishment was over to the Mandarin by prostration; this practice, absurd in appearance, and unnatural in reality, arises from the patriarchal theory of the government, which supposes that judicial punishments are

the corrections of paternal affection, and therefore reluctantly inflicted. We anchored in the evening at Sang-yuen, the last village in the province of Chelee.

The judge, Ching-ta-jin, expressed, through Chang, his wish to see Sir George, who had not accompanied Lord Amherst the preceding evening; it was also hinted, that he had some observations to make of importance, which had been omitted on that occasion. Chang was very anxious that Sir George should comply with his request, in order that the favourable report which he himself intended to make to the Emperor should be supported by the judge, which could not be expected, unless his vanity were gratified by an appearance of deference. It was accordingly arranged that Sir George should meet him at Chang's boat. Although Ching-ta-jin's language was polite throughout the long conversation that took place, the matter was by no means satisfactory, and with a prospect of further official intercourse, would have required more serious contradiction. The Poo-ching-tze, or treasurer of Shang-tung, who is to superintend the supplies of the

embassy, having unexpectedly arrived soon after the conversation commenced, the judge took Sir George aside, and the greater part of what past was therefore confined to themselves. Ching-ta-jin unreservedly asserted the vital importance of the trade with China to England; its indifference to China; the pre-eminent greatness of the Emperor; the inferiority of the King of England, and the superiority of the French in arts and manufactures to our nation: he considered the English as the carriers of other nations: great mistakes he said had been made by Ho, and the business had altogether been mismanaged; the evil might, however, still be remedied by our compliance with the ceremony, which he described as indispensable. Sir George having strongly stated the precedent of Lord Macartney, the judge asserted that he himself had witnessed the performance of the ko-tou by that nobleman. In vain did Sir George, at several stages of the conversation, endeavour to introduce observations directed to the refutation of his absurd positions as they arose, his loquacity was not to be stopped,

and Sir George was compelled to content himself with attacking the last, whatever might be its importance. When the conference was breaking up, Sir George, to avoid the possibility of Ching-ta-jin pretending that he had given him reason to infer that our determination respecting the ko-tou had undergone the slightest change, stated to both him and Chang, that it would answer no good purpose to call us back half-way from Canton, or from Canton itself, as we could not possibly return under any idea of compliance with the ceremony. Sir George was the more anxious to make this statement, from an apprehension that the silence which he had observed on several parts of the judge's harangue, from a wish not to offend his vanity by contradiction, and thereby defeat the object of the visit, should be misconstrued into assent or concession. Chang treated a recal from Canton as utterly improbable, on the ground of expense. Sir George's propositions arising out of the judge's allusion to the intended report to the Emperor, were confined to an extended acceptance of the presents and the pro-

mulgation of a favourable edict; these were not deemed unattainable by the judge.

Soon after Sir George's return, a messenger came from Chang, to request an explanation of the remark respecting our unwillingness to return, observing, that he could scarcely report us perfectly respectful while we refused to return, if summoned by the Emperor: the meaning in Chinese of the words " perfectly respectful," being well understood to imply complete submission, Sir George lost no time in perfectly undeceiving Chang, if he was either really mistaken, or pretended to be so: he therefore went to his boat, and repeated the statement, that our sentiments regarding the ko-tou were unaltered, but that we were ready to obey the Emperor's summons, if his Majesty were graciously pleased to receive us on the terms proposed. Chang said that this explanation was quite satisfactory, and that he had never understood Sir George to have expressed any change in our opinion. Chang's, it seemed, was to be the only report; and I must confess that I do not expect any important result

from it. Sir George was much pleased with the Poo-ching-tze of Shan-tung, who expressed his desire to render our journey through his province agreeable and convenient. Chang mentioned Kwang's intention of renewing his personal intercourse with the embassy to-morrow, and earnestly recommended our receiving him as if no difference in his conduct had been observed. I find that a note written at Tong-chow upon the subject of the missing baggage is supposed to have offended him.

17th of September.—This has been a halting day, and although Sang-yuen is only a village, and cannot therefore afford much for observation, the time did not hang heavily. A walk though the street along the river, containing some tolerable shops, and a visit to two Miaos, furnished sufficient occupation: the principal shops were furriers, with goods of better quality than at Tong-chow: I observed some pieces of cloth with the East-India Company's mark. Dollars, being our smallest coin, have an immediate effect in lowering the

exchange against the copper Tchen* from eight hundred, which may be considered par, to five hundred, and thus raising the price of every article: the shopkeepers readily distinguish the gentlemen of the embassy from the guard and attendants, and are proportionately exorbitant in their demands.

The figures in the Miao were in tolerable preservation. The most remarkable were the god Fo and the universal Mother, both seated on the lotus. There was one representation of the god Fo with eight arms, exactly similar to the idols of the Hindoos. Several colossal figures of warriors were described as statues of distinguished Mandarins; one of these had a hammer in his hand, which would justify

* The copper Tchen is the only coin in actual circulation, the precious metals being received according to the weight and fineness, and rather, therefore, being articles of barter, than forming a circulating medium. Dollars have only a fixed value from representing a certain quantity of silver. The Tael, or ounce of silver, valued at six shillings and eight-pence sterling, is an imaginary coin, in which public and private accounts are kept. I have heard, that during the Ming Dynasty a paper circulation was in existence.

a conjecture, that statues were erected to the inventors of useful arts; there was a spherical piece of wood, open at one end, used as a gong, on the altars. In the largest Miao, the most remarkable object I observed was the model of a pagoda, or Paou-ta, about fourteen feet high, of thirteen stories; each story was filled with small gilt figures, not ill executed in wood. The principal figures were also wooden, but imitating bronze; in general the colossal figures are baked clay, and notwithstanding the coarseness of the materials, the ornaments of the drapery are represented with great fidelity and minuteness. One of these temples was used as a stable, and the other as a farm-house.

The Café des Aveugles is not confined to Paris; Sang-yuen presented, in the evening, a similar place of resort, with a band of blind musicians. An old man, who appeared the principal performer, played on the most complicated instrument I have yet seen in China; it consisted of a box with two bridges, over which some strings were stretched, whilst others passed underneath; there were two

circular apertures about the middle of the box, the length two feet by one: the performer played upon the strings with two small rods; it seemed to me the simplest form of the harpsichord. We all agreed that the performance was superior in harmony to any that we had before heard: the other instruments were a guitar and fiddle.

Kwang paid us his intended visit: we were satisfied with his manner. His conversation with Lord Amherst was altogether upon indifferent subjects, such as the Emperor's personal appearance and pursuits: he described him as not very tall, but stout and well proportioned. His Majesty is fond of hunting and shooting: the bow is the weapon in which he excels. A large proportion of the district of Chelee was, he said, employed in pasturage for the government horses *. With Sir George and myself the discourse re-

* The accounts of the Missionaries represent the Tartars as excellent horsemen, and that the arts of the manege are various, and much attended to. I had no opportunity of verifying the truth of this description; from the appearance of the horses I should doubt their being equal to rapid manœuvre.

lated more to our immediate concerns: we learnt that we were to proceed by Nankin, thereby avoiding two troublesome land transports. Sir George having remarked that the visit to Yuen-min-yuen had given us a distaste to land journeys, Kwang begged him not to allude to that unfortunate occurrence; he added, that he had originally conducted the negotiation with us, and had endeavoured to bring the points under discussion to an amicable arrangement; that he had been superseded by Ho, who had neglected his advice, and by hurrying had confused every thing. Sir George having said, in reply, that recurring to the past was useless; the object now was to place affairs for the future upon the best footing, and that it might perhaps be effected by our mutual exertions; Kwang assented with much seriousness and apparent sincerity, adding, that neither parties must be supposed in fault: he apologized for his absence, saying, that while our friends Chang and Yin were with us, he was convinced that nothing was wanted; but that now we had got among strangers, he felt him-

self called upon to offer his services. Lord Amherst returned Kwang's visit in the evening: notwithstanding his subdued tone in the morning, his manners were certainly not improved, as he continued to take the principal seat in his own boat. The tea * served round was that used only on occasions of ceremony, called yu-tien; it was a small-leafed, highly-flavoured green tea. In Lord Amherst and Kwang's cups there was a thin, perforated silver plate to keep the leaves down, and let the infusion pass through; the cups used by the Mandarins of rank in form resemble coffee-cups, and are placed in a wooden or metal saucer, shaped like the Chinese boats. Tartars, Kwang informed us, were eligible to office at eighteen; this is said to arise from the wish of government to bring them early into employment: there are four different races † of Tartars in China; he himself is

* We afterwards learnt that this tea was specially supplied to Kwang as Chin-chae. In Du Halde, the tea appropriated to the Emperor is called Mao-tcha, and consists of the young leaves of the plant.

† The Man-tchoos and Mun-koos are each divided into eight banners; there are also eight banners of Tartarized Chinese; they are distinguished by the colours

a Mongul, or, as called in China, a Mun-koo.

of their standards—yellow, white, blue, and red, variously disposed; each banner is subdivided, the lowest division being of one hundred horse. The Mun-koos have been long worshippers of Fo; the Man-choos, on the contrary, have only adopted it since their entrance into China, and they still consider a pure theism as the basis of their morals and polity. The devotions to their ancestors are common to the Chinese and Tartars.

CHAPTER V.

Embassy leaves Sang-yuen—Departure of Chang and Yin—Arrangement for the future of subordinate conductors—Arrival at Lin-tsin-chow—Paou-ta of Lin-tsin—Enter Canal—Quit province of Shan-tung—Enter Kiang-nan—Cross Yellow River—Description of Ning-niang-miao—Pass Yang-choo-foo—Arrival at Kao-ming-tze—Change of boats—Leave Kao-ming-tze—Proceed to Kwa-choo—Delay—Observations on suggested address to Pekin.

EIGHTEENTH of September.—We left Sang-yuen in the middle of the night. Chang and Yin have both quitted us, and no Mandarins are appointed to supply their places, the Poo-ching-tze being the district officer succeeding the judge. The Mandarins of the three principal boats leave us to-day, having been requested to accompany us so far, that their successors might become acquainted with the arrangement for meeting at breakfast and dinner. Kwang has somewhat uncivilly refused to send any one of his servants to act as a medium of communication upon any little points of difficulty, that might arise.

Two of Chang's attendants were before attached for this purpose to the Embassador's boat; one of these had been with the former embassy. Suitable presents have been made to all the persons of this description now leaving us.

There would seem to be no scarcity of wood in this part of the country, though I have not seen any that can be called trees. We arrived at Te-tchoo at sunset, distant seventy lees from Sang-yuen. From the bank to the walls of the town the space is occupied by streets, in which were some tolerable shops. I walked as far as the walls, which did not seem as high as those of the towns in Chee-lee: a swamp, or wet ditch, extended some distance on this face. Te-tchoo is remarkable for its manufacture of summer caps. It was the general opinion that salutes were fired as Lord Amherst's boat arrived, from which we may infer that the honours have recommenced. Several Mandarins, of inferior rank, were certainly in waiting, and were very active in clearing away the crowd. A small look-out tower is added to the larger quadrangular watch-towers in this pro-

vince. The reaches of the river approaching Te-tchoo are rather picturesque; the willows dropping their branches into the stream, and the abrupt projections of the banks, somewhat relieved the ordinary flatness of the scene. Our band attracted much notice; and two Mandarins, who were among the crowd, having been invited into the Embassador's boat, had the grace to put on their robes of ceremony before they presented themselves, a degree of consideration quite unparalleled.

It has been remarked, that the tobacco in this part of China is of very luxuriant growth, the leaves being unusually large; in quality it is extremely mild. The iron tubes from which the salutes are fired are not more than eight inches in length, with a very small bore. I have been informed that the cones of clay or masonry, already noticed, at the foot of the watch-towers, are used as smoke furnaces, to communicate signals to distant parts of the country.

19th of September.—The thermometer was fifty-eight degrees at seven o'clock; and though it rises considerably as the day advances, the climate is throughout tem-

perate. A large aspen tree, remarkable for its appearance of age, proved, on inquiry, to be one hundred years old, an age, I believe, seldom attained by trees of this species. Burial grounds, with groves of aspens, have become frequent. The river has been so tortuous in its windings, that the boats occasionally appeared moving in parallel lines, and at other times surround the spectator; at night these varieties give a pleasing effect to the lanterns of the different vessels. About ten o'clock we passed Sze-nu-sze, remarkable for a temple dedicated to four ladies of singular chastity*; they did not answer the great object of their existence, but remained virgins. Strange, that the perversion of nature should have obtained honour in so many different countries and ages! A short distance from this temple a canal

* Celibacy is enjoined to the Hoshungs, or Priests of Fo, known better, in European writings, as Bonzes, from the Japanese Bonzo, a Priest. This ordinance, as formerly, among the Monks, does not secure chastity; on the contrary, it often leads to the employment of violence in the gratification of their passions. The Priestesses also take vows of celibacy, with even less attention to their obligation.

branches off to the left, over which there is a flat bridge with six arches, and piers of good masonry. In the town was a large turreted gateway, which, I apprehend, is peculiar to the province; the additional watch-tower, noticed yesterday, has, it is said, been erected since the late commotions.

Shan-tung was the principal scene of the rebellion. Khwo-hien, signifying slippery city, the town that made the longest and most desperate resistance, is situated in it. Many lives were lost in the progress of the revolt, and but for the firmness of a few individuals immediately about the person of the Emperor, the present dynasty would probably have been overturned. In a country like China, where not only the more important measures of government, but the most trifling details of office, depend for their execution upon the supposed irresistibility of the imperial power, the slightest opposition gives a shock to the whole political machine, not easily or quickly remedied.

Last evening we observed some troops on the opposite bank with peculiar flags,

which were described as Man-tchoo Tartars. There did not seem any difference in their arms or accoutrement, but instead of jackets they wore long dresses. We anchored opposite Koo-ching-hien, a walled town, with regular gateways and towers: the best built and most populous part is without the walls, on the bank of the river.

20th of September.—The air was almost cold in the morning, and the thermometer during the day did not in the boat rise higher than seventy-five degrees; the direct rays are, however, still powerful; and I am disposed, from the increased number of our sick, to consider the climate unwholesome. The reaping-hook, used for the kao-leang, is altogether smaller than I had conceived; the handle does not exceed two feet, and the blade eight inches, placed nearly at right angles to the handle. There is great variety in the progress of the crops within a short distance; for while in some places the tobacco is scarcely in flower, in others I have observed it hung upon lines to dry in the sun. It is so mild in this state, that it scarcely gives the flavour of tobacco in the mouth. We

anchored for dinner at Chen-ja-khor, and soon after passed a fine alley of willows, opposite to which a detachment of soldiers was drawn up, and a salute fired to the Embassador. It is not always possible to ascertain to whom these honours are addressed, as the salute is sometimes fired when the boat is opposite, and at other times, while it is at some distance. The soldiers upon occasions where the honours are decided in their object, kneel as the boat reaches the left of the line, utter a dismal shout, and the band of music, placed on the right, strikes up at the same moment. Myriads of cracked penny trumpets give the best idea of Chinese military music. Our anchorage to-night is said to be thirty lees from Chen-ja-khor. Its name, I believe, is Cha-ma-hien.

21st of September.—The country has been most uninteresting. At twelve o'clock we passed Woo-chang-hien, a small walled town. The parapet of the wall had fallen down in most places; the remaining part was of mud, and of considerable thickness. There was no village immediately at our anchorage; the usual pyloos, stages,

and temporary stands were, however, placed on the bank. I did not exactly ascertain the name of the anchorage; it sounded like Tsing-keea-khoo.

The badges of some of the soldiers, drawn up to salute, signify, "robust citizens," from whence it is conjectured that they are a body of militia, more particularly belonging to the subdivisions of the district. The troops of each province in China are levied within it, the government assuming as a principle that men will defend their homes with more determination than strangers*: the banners of the Tartars may, therefore, be considered the disposable force of the empire. Since we entered Shan-tung, mounted soldiers have accompanied the trackers, and the whole arrangement has improved; our progress has consequently been more regular, about twenty-five miles a day.

* These provincial troops may perhaps be considered as a military police, and the circumstance of their being levied within their respective provinces accounts for the regulation respecting Mandarins not holding office in their native province, being confined to those of the civil order. Enrolment in the Chinese army is voluntary, and the pay is so good that the service is much desired.

The trackers are seldom less than sixteen hours employed, during which time they never stop for meals or refreshment, though there is a large proportion of old men and boys amongst them. I now understand that they are pressed into the service, and an individual when once summoned must attend himself, or find a substitute. The boats in which Sir George Staunton and myself are accommodated are valued at eight hundred taels, or two hundred and sixty-six pounds: they are built in the southern provinces.

22d of September.—We arrived at eight o'clock at Yoo-fang, or Yoo-fa-urh, a small town, defended by towers. At twelve o'clock I saw the pagoda or paou-ta of Lin-tsin-choo, at the distance of fifteen lees. At the nearest angle of the bank some others and myself landed, and found no difficulty in entering and ascending to the top of the building. It is of an octagonal form, of nine stories, diminishing to the summit; the foundation, and nearly the whole of the first story, are of stone, a porphyritic granite; the remainder is of brick, glazed on the surface. Four Chinese words are inscribed

on the outside, signifying the relics of Fo; the building is, therefore, a temple dedicated to that god, and is called "Shay lee Paou-ta." We ascended by a winding staircase of one hundred and eighty-three steps; the steps and corners of the walls are of porphyritic granite, highly polished; there are also several slabs of the same stone, which by some has been called marble: the glazed bricks have also been described as porcelain. With the exception of the landing-places of some of the stories, the building is in good repair, and is certainly an interesting specimen of this style of architecture. The roofs of the stories project nearly two feet, and are highly decorated with carved work in wood. The whole is covered in with cast iron or bell metal. I estimated the height at one hundred and forty feet. We had a good view of the city of Lin-tsin from the top: there are so many gardens within the walls that no buildings were to be distinguished. A Miao, near the pagoda, with a gilt colossal idol, would, unless eclipsed by its neighbour, have deserved a visit. There

are two idols in the pagoda itself; one in the first, and the other in the highest story: the latter is of baked clay. A slab on the third story bore an inscription, signifying that the pagoda was built in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Wan-li, of the Ming Dynasty, A. D. 1548. The walls of the city, seen from the top, appeared about two miles distant.

Our eyes have during this day been gratified with slight varieties in the ground, prettily wooded. The large mounds of earth mark the proximity of the canal, which we shall enter to-morrow. I am inclined to think that the raised road on each side of the river is intended also as an embankment, and that the heaps of earth are used in repairing it: I should have had no hesitation in pronouncing it at once to be an embankment, if it did not in many places cut off the windings of the river, where the stream was strongest. Some of the grounds bear the appearance of having been lately overflowed. Towers of matting, painted to imitate brickwork, have been observed during the day. The crowd of spectators was immense, but we

were not much molested, in consequence of the activity of the soldiers and lower Mandarins.

At night a space near the boats was inclosed with ropes, to which at certain intervals bells were hung; any intrusion was therefore immediately discovered. To the goodwill of the Chee-chow, or governor of the city, the Embassador is indebted for the salutes and other military honours that have been addressed to him these two last days: attentions of this nature are said to depend upon the disposition of the local officer. I walked into the suburb, which had nothing remarkable. We learnt that there are some Mahomedan mosques here; but we were not able to visit them. Some temples that we passed in the suburbs, with summits of rather a peculiar shape, were probably the buildings alluded to.

23d of September.—We left our anchorage at daylight, and immediately entered the canal, which flows into the river, through an opening, in breadth sufficient to admit the largest boats: this entrance is formed by piers of stone, in which grooves are cut for floodgates. After

passing this entrance or lock, the canal turns to the northward, and at the second lock finally preserves a south-easterly direction. The banks at the entrance are of considerable depth, and give a good idea of the magnitude of the work. The view, as connected with this last idea, was certainly imposing; the roofs of the temples, masts of the vessels, and the junction of the streams, are the chief features of the scene. Nearly a mile from the entrance we passed a watch-tower, of three stories; the bottom open on the four sides, with arched gateways. Near it were two square mounds, faced with masonry, upon the summits of which guns might be mounted: they are probably intended to defend the passage. There were some buildings on the banks of a conical shape, said to be tombs of priests. Near the end of the suburb a hall, open to the river, with a table and some insignia of office upon it, attracted my notice: it proved to be the tribunal of the Mandarin superintending the police of the river. The canal is called the Cha-kho, or river with Locks, and it is in fact a stream, the navigation of which

has been directed and aided by art. Lin-tsin-chow is remarkable for dressing furs. At eight o'clock we passed the first Miao I have observed of red bricks. As we advance, the stream is scarcely perceptible, and the banks have no elevation. A yellow umbrella in a junk leading to inquiries, we were informed that it contained the dragon robes of the Emperor, which are sent as tribute from some of the middle provinces to the capital. These two last days I have seen some fields cultivated with the cotton* plant.

One of the military Mandarins attending the embassy through the province, mentioned yesterday to Mr. Morrison, that the stay of the embassy at Pekin was not to have exceeded six days, into which short space of time, the reception, play, and audience of leave, were to have been crowded. I do not attach much importance to the statement, as I consider the actual execution of such a plan nearly impracticable, from the time that would have been required to unpack and arrange the presents. I however recollect a statement

* Gossipium Herbaceum.

nearly similar, as to the number of days to be employed in audiences and entertainment, having been made by Kwang at Tien-sing. A Mandarin with a red button and peacock's feather, of very good appearance and manners, is with us; his particular command does not, I believe, extend further than this day's journey; he has made no difficulty in receiving presents from Lord Amherst. Perhaps as we remove from the capital, the squeamishness of the Chinese authorities will diminish.

Our boatmen, on entering the Cha-kho, performed a sacrifice, either to the protecting deity of the boat, or to the god of the stream. A cock was killed early in the morning, and the bows of the boat sprinkled with the blood; it was afterwards roasted, and spread with other eatables, consisting of boiled pork, salad, and pickles, upon the forecastle, before a sheet of coloured paper: a pot of Sam-shoo *, with two small cups, and a pair of chopsticks, were placed near the provisions. The son of the master of the boat officiated

* A spirit distilled from rice.

as priest, and the ceremony consisted in throwing two cups of the liquor and a little of the provisions overboard; some gilt paper was then burnt, and two strings of crackers discharged: the remainder of the provisions were taken away to feast upon. While this ceremony was carrying on, on the forecastle, the women on board were burning paper and incense before an idol, which always stands in a shrine, in the aftermost part of the boat. The master of the vessel and his son have their families in the boat, and I apprehend that they have never any other habitation.

As we advance, the canal frequently exceeds the Eu-ho in width: in places it bears the marks of having lately overflowed the banks. This circumstance, combined with its frequent windings, give it the appearance of a stream in its natural state. We passed two sluices, proving that there are means of limiting the quality of its waters; at one, the course was north-west. We anchored at four o'clock for the night at Wei-kee-wan, a place with so few houses that it is considered merely a station for travellers. There were, however, two tem-

ples here, one of which was dedicated to individuals of eminent virtue; they appeared principally females.

About ten o'clock at night one of the men of my boat fell overboard and was drowned; the body was got out of the water before a quarter of an hour had elapsed, but the attempts to restore life proved ineffectual. The Chinese would not make the least effort to save their companion, and seemed to regret that the perseverance of one of the Embassador's guard and of our servants had succeeded in recovering the body. For the sake of human nature we will hope that their inactivity proceeded, rather from the responsibility in cases of sudden death attached to the bystanders, than from real indifference; for, according to the criminal code of China, the last person seen in the company of the deceased is held accountable for the manner of his death. An inquiry, conducted by a Mandarin, took place on this occasion, which terminated in his ordering the body to be buried. The witnesses were examined on their knees, apparently as culprits. The man

had gone to bed drunk, and is supposed to have slipped overboard in that state; he was perfectly naked, and as a cut was found upon his head, it is probable that he struck against something in his fall which stunned and deprived him of the power of exertion, otherwise these boatmen are so completely amphibious, that he would have run little danger of being drowned.

24th of September.—About eleven o'clock we passed some large granaries on the left, which the Mandarin called Leeang-chah-chin. The watch-towers occur at short intervals, and are better built; a soldier on the top beats a gong for some time, either to salute or to give notice of the approach of the boats. From sixteen to twenty feet is the width between the piers of the locks, and it requires great care to pass the larger boats through without injury. The masonry of these piers is very good; the stones regularly cut and of large size. Grotesque figures of animals in stone occupy, in some places, the corners. The waters of the canal appear to have been recently let out, as there are

several spots with trees, which must at other times be nearly under water.

We approached the city of Tong-chang-foo during dinner; the canal winding through the suburb. I think the houses were more regular and better built than at any other city we have yet seen. I observed some peculiarity in the roofs of the temples, being still more arched and more loaded with ornament. When the novelty of this style of architecture is worn off, one cannot avoid being struck with the disproportion of the decoration and size of this part of the building. The banks of the canal were here much cut down. On passing through the lock in the suburbs, we had a good view of two faces of the city, extending west and northward; it stands on the left bank of the canal: the walls are in good repair, and have lofty watch-towers at intervals. There were two conical-shaped buildings with stories, probably pagodas; their diameter bore a larger proportion to their height than in that at Lin-tsin-chow. We were anchored completely outside of the suburb, and at such a distance from the city that we had

not either daylight or time sufficient to visit it. The stages are so contrived by our conductors, that we arrive at the cities late in the evening, and break ground so early in the morning, that we have no chance of making an attempt to get within the walls. Their jealousy of the cities is equally ridiculous and inhospitable. A slight variety in the elevation of the ground on which the suburbs were built, gave them a less uninteresting aspect than belongs usually to Chinese towns. Some of the reaches of the canal, overhung with trees, mixed with the temples and houses, were really pretty; the waste of ploughed land on our left, from its nakedness, made us regret the stalks of the giant millet. Very lofty and umbrageous poplar trees, of a species different from that usual in England, are common in this province; there are also many groves of the *Arbor vitæ**. Tong-chang-foo, a city of the first order, is populous, and would, from all accounts, have well repaid the trouble of a visit.

25th of September.—A range of mountains were visible at sunrise in the south-

* Thuja Orientalis, a tree closely allied to the cypress.

east, and the eyes of all were turned to them with the same interest as to high land after a sea voyage; indeed, what with uniformity of objects and of level, the country since we left Tong-chow has been as little interesting as the expanse of blue water. The scenery altogether improves, villages are better situated, and the banks more variously wooded. Not so the appearance of the trackers, who are really the refuse of our species; deformed, diseased, emaciated, and covered with rags, they are at once objects of compassion and disgust. At half past two we passed the village of Shee-chee-tee. At eight o'clock at night we passed the town of Woo-chien-chin, the wall of which reached to the river; some houses seemed either to be built upon the walls or to overtop them: these were crowded with spectators, furnished, as usual, with lanterns. The banks of the canal immediately near these towns are faced with stone. Soldiers and other persons are stationed upon the pier heads at night with torches to assist the passage of the vessels. The groups at these places, imperfectly lighted by the lanterns and

torches, were not without picturesque effect.

26th of September.—We did not reach Chang-shoo till three o'clock in the morning, where we anchored only for two hours, our trackers having worked twenty hours, and advanced us ninety lees. Chang-shoo may be supposed from the remains of buildings to have been formerly a place of more consequence than at present; there is a flat bridge of five arches, if so they can be called, being merely openings between piers, near Chan-shoo. The materials of the top of the bridge were loosely thrown together, and they probably must be often renewed. Several sluices are completely blocked up by embankments. I am not, however, disposed to think that this has arisen from neglect, but rather from design: the increased regularity of the course of the water, and the proximity of the locks for the last thirty miles, would indicate that more labour had been required here to secure the navigation than near Lin-tsin. In places, I believe that the raised embankment has a foundation of brickwork.

Soon after eleven we passed the village of Tee-cha-mee-urh, remarkable only for a number of watch-towers disproportionate to its extent; there was a navigable cut on the right, with a bridge over it, not, however, communicating with the main canal. The first stream I have observed falls into the canal near this village. Some rafts with masts and large sheds erected upon them passed us on their way to Pekin from Hoquang, one of the middle provinces: there were some Mandarins on board, marking that the rafts or their contents were Imperial property. The nearest range of hills were about ten miles distant, and we observed some buildings, said to be a temple and a small town, on the summit of one separate from the rest. The eastern range is nearly parallel to the canal; the hills to the west do not so evidently form a continued chain. We anchored at Ganshien-chin, a military post with a few houses; our day's journey had been sixty-one lees. A strong wind from the north-east has completely changed the climate: the evening was not unlike the latter end of October in England: these changes

must be unwholesome, and from experience I should say, that disorders in the digestive powers are particularly to be apprehended under such circumstances.

The ignorance of the military in China is so professional, that Mandarins of this class, however high their rank, have no hesitation in avowing it. Bodily strength and courage are the only qualities required for advancement, a proof that the art of war must be in a very low state; for although force ultimately produces military results, the application of that force requires as great exertions of the intellectual powers as any human pursuit whatsoever. It would not, I think, be difficult to prove from history, that the mental qualities required to constitute a great statesman or a great captain are nearly the same; both must possess the higher species of courage derived from reflection, and the physical strength of either is of little consequence; the difference frequently supposed must be derived from the observation of characters possessing only in a secondary degree the qualifications required for either situation. Sir George learnt from one of the

military Mandarins, that very detailed orders respecting our accommodation had been issued by the Emperor.

27th of September.—Though the weather looked threatening at daybreak, I was not deterred from my morning walk, in which I persevere, much against my inclination, as a preventive to bilious accumulation. The Chinese soldiers, who always keep us in sight, must be excessively annoyed by this unseasonable activity; they use all sorts of pretexts to shorten the walk, by proposing to stop for the boats, or to cut off the angles of the canal. In our walk we passed some threshing-floors: on inquiry, I found that the roller threshes as well as husks the grain. The millet is cut off a little below the head, and spread on the threshing-floor, over which the roller of stone is drawn by one horse. Some of these stones appear to be of porphyritic granite, and are very beautifully veined. The piers are in places of this material, in others of compact limestone. At nine we passed a large village, Chen-cha-kho. The horses are here of a better kind and in greater number; indeed, from observing

several led horses, I was inclined to think that there might be some horse-market in the neighbourhood. There has been greater appearance of traffic on the banks for these last two days than I have before remarked; many of the commodities are carried in the wheelbarrows peculiar to China. Their advantage is the situation of the wheel in the centre of the barrow: two men, one in front and the other behind, are harnessed to it. I have not yet seen any of them under sail. Buck wheat* of fine growth has been added within these few days to the other cultivation; the tobacco† grows to the height of four feet, and when in flower is one of the handsomest plants: hemp‡, the ricinus§, kaoleang‖, and a small species of bean, are the general produce of the districts bordering on the canal. Soon after breakfast we passed Yuan-cha-kho. The names of the villages are also those of the locks, Chah signifying to lock. At Leu-leu-ko, which we reached at three o'clock, the river

* Polygonum fagopyrum.
† Nicotiana fruticosa.
‡ Cannabis sativa.
§ Ricinus communis.
‖ Holcus sorghum.

Wang-ja-kho fell into the canal on the right bank; it is not a stream of any size, nor do I see any boats upon it: the opposite embankment was formed of mud and stalks of the kao-leang, of considerable depth and apparent solidity. At Kei-kho-chin (Kei-kho signifying commencement of river, and chin, a military post) there was a smaller stream with a bridge thrown over it; it seemed to be soon lost: below the bridge were several small fishing-boats.

I had an opportunity, this evening, of observing the mode in which the waters of the canal are raised and depressed, at the locks or flood-gates: a certain number of beams, to each of which ropes are affixed at both extremities, are successively fixed in the grooves of the piers, one above the other; an upright pole or beam is then placed at each extremity of the pile of beams, upon which a rope is fixed, and passed round an axle inserted between the bent stones or beams fixed on both sides in the centre of the piers; the axle is then worked round by short bars, and the upright beams are pressed thereby upon the horizontal, until sufficiently close together

to overcome the force of the water; a cross bar is then twisted into a coil of the rope wound on the axle, and the end fixed in the ground, by which the whole is kept in its position; the axle is also used to place one end of each horizontal beam in the groove, the rope at the other extremity is passed to the opposite pier, and the beam hauled into its situation: when the water is left to take its natural course, the beams rest beside the piers. The whole contrivance is rude, and unsafe to the workmen, from the danger of the uprights slipping in fixing them, and the rope that supports them breaking. The uprights increased in girth towards the bottom, thereby giving some security against their slipping. A shallow beyond Kei-kho-chin rendered this elevation of the water necessary.

28th of September.—Six miles from Kei-kho-chin we reached the junction of the river Wun-kho with the canal; this junction is said to be the most elevated point of the canal, the stream taking opposite directions. On both sides, but particularly on the eastern, the country was covered with water; by some this extent

was called a lake, and the river Wun was said to flow through it. The banks of the Wun, near the junction, bore evident marks of being artificially formed, and I have no doubt that its course had been altered. The opposite bank of the canal was strongly faced with stone, to resist the force of the waters; in the middle the current was scarcely to be perceived, but near both banks it was to be seen in contrary directions: our course will hereafter be with it. The earth has been thrown up from the bed of the canal in such quantities as to form large hillocks, which are covered with trees and various vegetation, particularly the castor oil plant: I ascended the highest, and the view was more picturesque than any I have yet seen in China: the windings of the river and canal, the expanse of water on both sides, and the mountains, were taken in at one view. The situation of a village among the hillocks beneath us had an air of wildness almost belonging to mountain scenery. The figures on the piers were crouching lions much compressed.

Boats, on reaching this place, usually

offer up some sacrifice at the Loong-wang-Miao*, or temple of the Dragon King: this was the first temple I had seen with the priests in attendance and the business of religion going on; it was altogether in good repair, and looked like a frequented place of worship. The men from the different boats burnt some incense before the idol, and prostrated themselves, while the priest struck upon the gong; a few copper coins were the fees of the priests. Dragons surrounded the idol, from whence his name: some models of junks were among the offerings in the temple. I here learnt, that the expanse of water on the left and right are called Ma-chang-hoo and Nan-wang-hoo: these waters are let in upon the canal, or discharged, by numerous sluices on the banks; a considerable body was let through one of these sluices while we were at breakfast. At ten o'clock we reached Ta-chang-kho; there were some towers very well situated on the low round hills in the neighbourhood; the direction of the range of hills was E. S. E. These

* This temple is called by the Missionaries Foo-shwuy-Miao.

mountains appear of the same nature as the stone forming the piers, which probably was brought from thence; they are conjectured to be limestone: I must confess that I was inclined to call them flint slate, or grauwacke: the strata were inclined to the horizon; swamps on both sides. At one o'clock we reached the village of Khotsu-wan, remarkable for a tower beautifully shaded by willow trees. A very long line of troops was drawn up at the anchorage, distant from the city of See-ning-chow about two miles: conchs were added to the band, and though resembling a melancholy howl, were less disagreeable than the trumpets. A large proportion of soldiers encamped on the bank, either to watch or protect us. Some of the soldiers, at all the military posts we have lately passed, have been armed with a weapon resembling a short scythe fixed to a long handle; whether these are used in war, or only for penal executions, I have not ascertained. On the flags of these soldiers I observed some characters stating the part of the army to which they belonged*.

* The provincial brigades, and the Chinese army at

The river Wun, I hear, rises from seventy springs in the eastern mountains, at the distance of sixty miles from the junction with the canal; but whether navigable in part of that course I know not.

29th of September.—The first part of this day's journey was through the suburbs of See-ning-chow: the city itself is on the eastern bank; the walls are in good condition, with circular gateways protected by watch-towers. The shops in the suburbs were very handsomely decorated with carved work and gildings; several good dwelling-houses, and temples with tiled roofs of various colours, gave the suburbs the appearance of a city. As we advance to the southward, where the cities become much better worth visiting, our conductors seem more determined to deprive us of that satisfaction. A few miles from the city another river falls in from the westward, and the waters on both sides extend nearly to the mountains: from the trees and villages with towers, in the

large, are divided into left and right wings, rear and vanguard, and van of the main body: the divisions to which they belong is inserted in their flags.

midst of this watery waste, I should suppose that the present state of the country is produced by inundation. The lake Seening is placed to the eastward in the maps, but it was impossible to trace its boundaries. Several boats with the birds used in fishing were observed, but we did not succeed either in examining the bird itself, or in seeing its performance. There are an unusual number of towers in the villages, forming striking objects in this watery expanse; they may perhaps be places of refuge for the inhabitants in sudden inundations. In places, the only land between the canal and the base of the mountains is the bank or path for the trackers.

At one o'clock we passed a village with some remarkable buildings, that were ascertained to be a college and temple built in honour of Confucius, or one of his immediate disciples; it had been repaired by the present Emperor: a certain number of students are accommodated at the establishment—the name Toong-koong-tse. The village where we dined was very prettily situated at an angle of the moun-

tain: were it not for these inhabited spots, we might fancy ourselves at sea. The peeping vegetation, and the stagnant waters near the villages, give the scene a most aguish aspect; the complaint has already shewn itself among the attendants, and I am in hourly expectation of a visit from this old enemy. We anchored for the night at Nang-yang-chin, a small town with some well-built houses; the roofs are more loaded with ornament than in Chelee; and now the novelty has worn off, we become more sensible of the defects of this style of architecture, which entirely neglects the body of the building, to overwhelm the roof with decoration.

Mr. Morrison was yesterday informed by Kwang, that it would not be practicable to continue our present system of meeting at dinner in the larger junks, for which we shall change our boats at Yang-choo-foo, and therefore he recommended our making arrangements accordingly. Mr. Morrison had some conversation with him upon the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen. Kwang censured Ho, and endeavoured to exculpate the Emperor. An intimation

of our wish to halt at Nankin was not very favourably received by him; he, however, promised to communicate with the Viceroy of Kiang-nan on the subject. The Mandarin Puh at present holds this office; he was formerly at Canton, and his hostility to our interests has been often noticed: on this occasion, however, he would seem better disposed, as a civil message, Kwang said, had been already sent by him respecting the passage of the embassy through the province.

30th of September.—Some of the officers of Kiang-nan met us this day to conduct us through an angle of the province, which we cross and then re-enter Shan-tung. At twelve we coasted the lake Tou-shang-hoo, which seems correctly laid down in the route of the former embassy. This part of the province of Shantung has suffered dreadfully from an inundation that happened four or five months since; from the appearance of the country, whole villages, with extensive tracts of cultivated country, must have been submerged. A few wretched hovels, with more wretched inhabitants, are all that

in some places have escaped the watery destruction; indeed it is surprising that the canal itself should have survived the ruin. Boats of some size were crossing the lake, and smaller boats were passing over the inundation beyond the canal. The whole scene, when connected with its cause, was most dreary; boats and corn junks are the only habitations that promised security.

At two o'clock we passed the village of Maja-khoo, where there were several boats building. About dinner-time we entered the province of Kiang-nan. All the trackers wore an uniform, which is an immemorial usage of the province: they were in greater numbers, and were accompanied by detachments of soldiers, principally armed with spears and scythes. We continued our journey all night. The banks were in places so high that, contrasted with the surrounding sheet of water, they looked mountainous: these have been formed by the necessity of successively strengthening the banks to resist the waters.

1st of October.—We left See-ya-chin, our anchorage, at seven o'clock. See-ya-

chin is a small town, with good houses. A sheet of water near it is called See-ya-chin-hoo. The lake Wee-chang-hoo commenced soon after we cleared See-ya-chin, and continued the whole of this day's journey. The inundation has probably much extended its ordinary limits; at present they reach to the base of the surrounding mountains. At half past ten we passed Shee-wan-chin, a military post, with some well-built towers in an inclosure. The buildings surrounding the towers were, I was informed, quarters for soldiers. We re-entered the district of Shan-tung at breakfast; and our trackers were disrobed, their clothes being packed up and carried off by the soldiers. At eleven we reached the Shi-tze-kho, or cross rivers, where the water divides into four streams or cuts: the banks on our right were cut down to a considerable depth. The village of Shee-san, a few miles from this junction, is prettily situated on the side of a hill, the principal range of hills to this point being nearly parallel to the canal; here, however, they appear to cross its course. From two o'clock to six a causeway of stone

formed at intervals the bank on the right: no superior pressure of water was to be observed that required this additional force of resistance. It is said that the Yellow river sometimes overflows its banks so as to mingle its waters with those of the lake Wee-chang-hoo; to provide against such an event this stone embankment may have been erected. Repairs to the bank were carrying on; the materials were earth and the stalks of the kao-leang, with which strong abutments, confined by piles, were formed: the same mode is employed on the banks of the Yellow river. Mandarins were superintending the work. The earth was brought from the opposite banks. In one or two places the inundation had carried away the piers of the floodgates. We anchored at Han-chang-chuan, our day's journey having been seventy lees.

2d of October.—The town extended some distance along the river, and contained several well-built houses. Near to this place a long range of piers, eighteen in number, stretching across the canal, by confining the waters gives considerable rapidity to the stream, so as to render the

assistance of trackers unnecessary. Our boats proceed stern foremost, and are worked down by checking with anchors on each side. The banks are high, and covered with shells and other materials dug out from the bed of the canal; among them were several round masses of puddingstone. A cultivated plain extended on both sides to the mountains: much of the ground was in fallow: buck wheat was the most common grain. We observed a few fields of young wheat. The Chinese are very careful in cleansing their land, using for this purpose harrows of various sizes; one was as fine as a small garden-rake.

At half past eleven the boats, instead of passing through the regular floodgate, rounded a small island, to avoid the violence of the stream through the piers, from which, in dropping down, it would not have been practicable to have kept off the boats. The same mode was repeated three or four different times during the day. The first floodgate was called Leu-Lu-cha. There is a remarkable peak among the range to the S. E. by which the direction

of the canal might readily be ascertained: the western range has now become very accurately defined; our course has been more to the eastward. At half past one we reached the junction of two streams with the canal, another having previously fallen into it this day. The irregular rapidity of the stream, and the almost total submersion of the piers, are sufficient proofs of the violence of the late inundations. We are told that the Viceroy Puh is on his way to the frontier, to superintend the repairs that have become necessary. We continued our journey till eleven o'clock at night, and anchored on this side of Taur-chuang, having probably quitted Shantung about half-way of the day's journey. The southern part of the province of Shantung has suffered so severely from the inundation, that it is impossible to form a correct opinion of the general condition from its present appearance; the villages, even where the traces of inundation were not so evident, had a poor appearance, and the inhabitants bore evident marks of poverty and distress. The soldiers, how-

ever, were stout men, and generally taller than those we had before seen.

3d of October.—Lord Amherst was paid a farewell visit this morning by Ho, the Poo-chin-tze of Shan-tung: the intercourse hitherto had been confined to civil messages and small presents, and I certainly had apprehended that the compliment of a visit would not have been paid. His manners were extremely pleasing, and altogether more consonant with our notions of gentlemanly behaviour than any other of our Chinese acquaintance. The Poo-chin-tze could not be induced to accept a present of glass ware, which Lord Amherst wished to have sent him: liability to misrepresentation was his excuse.

I must confess that my daily impression is not that of the superabundant population assigned by most authors to China: I should almost affirm that the population was not more than proportionate to the land under cultivation, a ratio very inferior to that usually assigned.

The Poo-chin-tze of one of the divisions of the province succeeds Ho in the super-

intendance of the supplies: his name is Chen, signifying "arrangement;" a very proper consequence to Ho, "concord." His predecessor gave him a very high character. Ho himself had been, within the recollection of some of our party, judge at Canton. We left Ta-ur-chuang soon after breakfast, and only travelled till dinner-time, when we anchored opposite an inconsiderable village. At a short distance from Ta-ur-chuang a cut joined the canal.

The country has much improved in appearance, exhibiting no traces of inundation; and, as far as the eye reaches, is well cultivated. The canal has quitted the eastern range of hills; and about twelve our course rounded the extremity of the western. A small lake extended in a S. E. direction near the anchorage. The stream has been less rapid, and we have made more use of trackers. Our small boats get on much faster than the larger, their sculls being sufficient to guide and impel them down the stream; as it is, our progress does not exceed three miles an hour.

4th of October.—About seven o'clock we passed the junction of the Shen-ja-kho,

relatively a considerable stream. At one o'clock we reached Yow-wan, a town with several brick houses, situated on the south-western bank. A small stream fell into the canal near it. From the number of boats at anchor I should suppose Yow-wan to be the regular station. The chief feature of the country has been the frequency of clumps of trees. About eight o'clock we reached Wen-ja-kho, where a stream joined the canal, over which there was a bridge with stone piers. Near this was a temple, called Koo-ling-miao, with a remarkable screen of masonry at the entrance. A party of soldiers were drawn up before a fine row of trees, and the reflection of their lanterns on the water had a pleasing effect. From the crowd of spectators, compared with the lateness of the hour, the place appeared populous. We passed the Lorna lake during the night, on the south-eastern bank. We anchored after midnight off Shoo-ching-hien, distant in land three lees, on the western bank.

5th of October.—There were but few houses near our anchorage, and we left it at seven o'clock, with a long journey be-

fore us, if we make the same stage as the former embassy. The embankments on each side are high; that on the western bank must be intended to resist any sudden swelling of the Yellow river, separated but by a few miles from the canal. Some part of the country on the right was inundated.

The respect for the Embassador seems to increase as we advance to the southward: I have already mentioned two Mandarins putting on their dresses of ceremony to visit him, and yesterday a military Mandarin, with a red button, inquired from Mr. Morrison the nature of the ceremonies that were required by his Excellency on the occasion of a visit; adding, that he did not kneel to the Viceroy. He was, of course, perfectly satisfied when informed that a bow would be sufficient.

At half past eleven o'clock we passed Seao-quang-kho, a small military post with a floodgate near it. The banks of the canal are there of considerable height, and the stream increased in width. In one spot the bank was supported by ropes passed round the layers of kao-leang stalks,

and fastened to a strong stake driven into the ground. A short distance from the canal on the western bank there is a navigable cut, which may be mistaken for the Yellow river, flowing towards the same point, but more to the westward. The country has been well cultivated, and wears an appearance of prosperity, and the whole scene has lost that aguish aspect belonging to the southern parts of Shan-tung.

We halted late in the evening at Tsong, or Choong-ching-chin, and all the boats immediately began their preparations for celebrating the autumnal full moon. Provisions and wine were as usual placed before the deity, and the libation being made, crackers and burnt paper concluded the ceremony. These sacrifices are followed by a feast, the votaries partaking of the remaining provisions: an offering is also made on these occasions to the evil spirit. I could not, however, distinguish any separation in the object of their devotions. Some ceremony of more complication and importance would seem to have been performed on shore, as we observed two soldiers returning to the guard-house

in dresses* studded with brass knobs to imitate armour; they had cuirasses of steel, their helmets were also of polished steel with inlaid work of a darker colour: in these were fixed plumes two feet long, red and brown, the former hair, as on the Mandarins' bonnets, and the latter fur: their arms were swords, bows, and arrows; the dress was altogether handsome and martial. Choong-ching is merely a village with some strong embankments on each side.

6th of October.—The banks of great height, and the canal about two hundred feet wide. At nine the course of the Hoang-ho, or Yellow river, was visible from the boats to the westward. A river, called the Salt Water river, flows on the eastern bank, in a direction nearly parallel to the canal. At twelve we arrived opposite Yang-tcha-chuan, the point of junction with the Hoang-ho, situated on the western bank of the canal.—Two o'clock. We left our anchorage to cross the river, which

* It will be hereafter observed, that this dress and equipment became frequent. The jackets and helmet are the ancient war habiliments of China.

here flows to the N. E.: we were prevented by the current from crossing directly, and as we approached the opposite shore to that which we had left, we opened the stream flowing in from the lake Hoong-tse-hoo, up which we proceeded through a passage or floodgate formed by strong abutments of kao-leang and earth, the whole held together by ropes fastened as mentioned yesterday.

An additional track rope was made fast to the forecastle, which was hove in by a capstan fixed on the bank, until the boat had passed completely through. The current here in the middle runs at least five miles an hour; close to the bank, however, it is slack water, if indeed there be not a slight current in the opposite direction. The water in several places near the piers is thrown up in whirlpools, and the descent is above two feet. I estimate the breadth* of the passage across from the canal at two-thirds of a mile, and that of the lake stream at half a mile. We pro-

* The missionaries state the breadth to be four hundred and fifty toises, or nine hundred and seventy-five yards, something more than half a mile.

ceeded about two miles up the latter to Ma-tou, where we anchored. There is a handsome looking temple of red brick, called Fung-shee-miao, dedicated to the God of Winds, near this spot. The crossing of the Yellow river is considered a service of danger by the Chinese, and I can imagine that when the several streams meeting at this point have been swelled by rain, there may be some ground for alarm; in our instance the security was complete.

Although the junction of the Yellow river and canal may not equal the description of some travellers, it is from the expanse of water, and the labour that must have been required to confine the different streams meeting here, and to convert them to the purposes of general navigation, an interesting scene. Errors have been attributed to the map of the former embassy in the relative positions of the Yellow river and lake stream, which has not been sufficiently separated from the former. As far as my own observation goes, the position, as represented in the map accompanying Van-braam's account of the Dutch embassy, is tolerably correct: the only error is not

placing the stream turning off from the lake stream sufficiently to the southward.

Kwang having sent a message to Lord Amherst proposing a meeting on shore in the morning, his lordship, in reply, expressed his readiness to meet the Chinchae if the object of the interview were business, otherwise the want of reciprocity on his part, in always taking the place of honour when his lordship visited him, compelled him to guard against similar occurrences in future, by declining interviews under the circumstances proposed. This produced an explanation from Kwang, who disclaimed any intention of pretending to personal superiority: he said that, in assuming the first place on all public occasions, he acted from a similar necessity to that which directed Lord Amherst's refusal to perform the ko-tou, the positive order of his government. In proposing an interview, his object was to induce Lord Amherst to remain in a tent on shore during the passage of his boat through the lock, which was attended with some danger from the sudden and rapid descent of the water. Kwang pointed out the draw-

ing up of the different divisions of junks on the canal, to clear a passage for our fleet, as an instance of respect not even paid to Viceroys. He also explained the irregularity that might have been noticed in the salutes, observing that they were always omitted on days marked for mourning in the Chinese calendar. With respect to his temporary rank, he observed, that he had declined the visits of some of his most intimate friends, as they would have been obliged to kneel in his presence, from his holding the high office of Chinchae. The Poo-ching-tze was to be present at the proposed interview. Lord Amherst deeming this explanation satisfactory, conveyed to Kwang an expression of his willingness to meet him; this was, however, now declined, Kwang alleging that he should be obliged to visit a temple at some distance.

7th of October.—Soon after daylight we left Ma-tou, and about two hundred yards from the anchorage turned to the southward, out of the lake stream called the Tai-ping-ho, the current here suddenly becoming in our favour; our course then

took a complete circuit, and the boats brought to close to the first floodgate, called Tien-pa-chá, with a small temple near it, in front of which a tent was erected, intended for Lord Amherst's accommodation on shore during the passage of the boats. The small neck of land, round which this last navigable stream flows, is intersected by spacious embankments: in one place a basin is formed with a handsome sluice. I could not trace any specific purpose either of this or of the embankments. I can only conjecture that they are intended to resist the sudden discharge of water from the lake stream and the Yellow river. If the materials have been (which is extremely probable) dug up from the bottom of the canal, great changes must have been made in the level over which it flows.

Lord Amherst went on shore after breakfast, and had scarcely seated himself when Kwang and the Poo-ching-tze entered: it not exactly appearing whether they meant to sit down, Lord Amherst privately signified to Kwang, that he was prepared to allow him the place of ho-

nour; this decided the Chin-chae, who immediately took the left of the two centre seats, and was followed by the Poo-ching-tze, who evidently wished to get possession of the second place. Lord Amherst having shewed his determination not to submit to this presumption, the Poo-ching-tze pretended sudden business and retired.

The descent of water through the floodgate was not less than three feet, and was sufficiently precipitous to justify apprehension: the ascent, from the use of the ropes and capstan on shore, is so regulated as to be quite secure. All the boats got through safely, the smaller shooting the passage, and the larger being eased through by ropes wound on stone columns. The projecting blocks of stone supporting the windlass at the floodgate were of pure granite, the first that I have seen; the upper stones of the pier were of coarse black marble: the second lock is a quarter of a mile from the first. Near the village of Koo-khur a large temple, consisting of several buildings, with roofs of yellow tiles, was said to have been either erected by or

dedicated to the Emperor's mother: it was named Ning-niang-miao.

A floodgate looking newly built was observed a short distance from the first lock, with embankments near; no water was seen between them. There are so many banks, and apparently navigable cuts in all directions about this part of the canal and yesterday's journey, that it is extremely difficult to form a correct opinion as to their respective directions. Junks are frequently seen all round at opposite points of the compass, and Chinese names and descriptions are so inaccurate and various, that persons under the most favourable circumstances could scarcely arrive at certainty. There is nothing striking in the scenery, nor is the population of the villages as numerous as the situation had led me to expect.

A longer delay than was expected having taken place between the second and third floodgates, I availed myself of the opportunity to visit the temple of Ning-niang on the opposite bank, and I was certainly well rewarded for my trouble. Though neither the architecture nor the

decorations differed from those we had already seen, the temple was in such perfect repair, that it enabled me to form a good idea of the comparative merits of these buildings. It was, as usual, divided into courts, four in number, the two inner appropriated to the priests. The first contained two square pavilions with richly decorated roofs; on the several pinnacles were small figures of animals: the frieze looked like green enamel, and had a very pleasing effect; the tiles were of bright yellow. In these pavilions were large slabs of black marble placed upright on pedestals on which were inscriptions*. Galleries on each side contained the usual figures of civil and military Mandarins. At the very extreme of this court was a colossal statue of the Dragon King. Having passed through the first court, we entered that containing the divinity representing the Emperor's mother, to whom the miao is dedicated; she was seated with two attendants standing near her, a yellow robe was thrown round the body, and on her head was a crown or large bonnet: the

* The Shee-pee before mentioned.

figure was richly gilt. The cross beams of the ceiling were decorated with golden dragons on a bright blue ground. Round the roofs of the temple were ornaments resembling spears and tridents. A lustre, composed of horn lanterns and strings of coloured glass beads, hung from the centre: two large horn lanterns were on each side of the altar, with polished metal skreens near them, used as reflectors to increase the brilliancy when the whole are lighted. Every part of the roof was richly carved and gilt, and surrounded by a frieze variegated with green, red, and black decorations. In the open area of the court a metal vessel shaped not unlike a Ta or Pagoda was placed, where incense is kept burning; the gongs, drums, and other instruments belonging to the temple, corresponded to the superiority of the rest of the edifice. We found the priests very well disposed to do the honours, and they were perfectly satisfied with an offering of a dollar.

We anchored for dinner a little beyond the third floodgate, through which the descent was not less rapid than the first.

Some of the party who had walked from the entrance of the lake stream directly across the country on Sunday evening, recognized the numerous tombs near this spot as having been the limit of their walk; the distance they did not suppose to be a mile, from which an estimate may be made of the circuit taken by the canal, and of the difficulties that must have been found in directing the course of the waters. Two rivers, or branches of rivers, flowing round this isthmus are called the Li-ho and Yun-ho. After passing two villages, one on each side, we anchored about one mile from Tsing-kiang-poo, a distance of twenty lees from the first floodgate. Tradition among the Chinese says, that the Yellow river is not to be resisted, and that in maintaining this inland navigation they are compelled to humour the wanderings of its powerful stream. According to Chinese accounts, the canal itself has been the work of several ages; begun about the christian era, it was not completed until the present dynasty, and requires constant attention to maintain it.

8th of October.—Tsing-kiang-poo, a

considerable town on both sides of the river. We here entered, through a floodgate, what may be considered the continuation of the canal, which assumes the name of the Li-kho * or Interior river: it flows to the eastward. There was a floodgate at a small angle to the north-westward, not however appearing to lead to any other navigation. The town contains many temples and good houses, and the view from the pier was not uninteresting. A bridge was visible in the distance. The number of Mandarins in attendance upon the progress of the embassy has much increased, and the circumstance may fairly be attributed to a better disposition in the local authorities. Near the town there was much stagnant water with strong embankments. Population, which during our journey through the southern part of Shan-tung and commencement of Kiang-nan had lost its overflowing aspect, now re-assumes its former character, but certainly not to

* This syllable signifying river would be more accurately written *ho:* the insertion of a *k* arises from the strong aspiration of the initial *h*.

the excess which we were taught to expect. A military Mandarin observed that in times of peace the supply of food became scanty, and that wars were absolutely necessary to maintain the proportion between the supply and the consumers. It is something singular to meet a disciple of Malthus on the Imperial canal!

The country, though perfectly flat between Tsing-kiang-poo and Hwooee-gan-foo, is not unpleasing to the eye, from its being well cultivated and partially wooded. The stream is with us, but our progress is but slow, the wind being contrary; the larger boats have been lashed together, and are dragged broadside to the stream. At twelve we passed a building with a wooden portico in front, said to be the office and dwelling of the Chin-chae, (Imperial Commissioner) charged with the collection of the customs: we here entered the district of Hwooee-gan-foo. The course of the canal* from the last

* Du Halde states that the principal works of the canal are near Hwooee-gan-foo to guard against the violence of the Yellow river and the Hwooee-ho, probably about Tsing-kiang-poo.

floodgate to Kho-choo-ya, the principal suburb of Hwooee-gan-foo, is nearly straight. These cities are said to be joined, and in places we observed a triple wall. The city stands on the eastern bank, and occupies a large area, in which are included gardens and cultivated grounds; within the first wall there was either a wet ditch or a swamp; the tower over one of the gates was of such solid masonry that it would allow cannon to be mounted: this is the first I have seen of sufficient strength for that purpose. Crowds of spectators gave an idea of the population, equal if not superior to Tien-sing. The pagoda of Hwooee-gan-foo, first visible on our right, is of five stories, and very inferior as an object either to that of Lin-tsin-chow or Tong-chow; its base was out of proportion to its height. We passed some salt† boats of rather a different construction; their sterns were less ele-

† The monopoly of salt, as in India, forms a branch of the public revenue. I believe an instance is scarcely to be found where a despotic government has failed to monopolize this article of universal consumption; the return is certain, although the burden presses most heavily on the poor.

tunity of seeing the fishing birds, called yu-ying, fish vulture, or yu-ye, fish bird. Several of these birds are placed on perches in each boat, and dropped into the water from poles; the birds dive naturally for the fish, and are trained to bring them to the boat. I observed one with a stiff collar round its throat to prevent its swallowing the fish; they seem to be made to dive by striking the pole into the water; they were of the size of Muscovy ducks, and resembled the booby bird in appearance, particularly in the beak.—Late at night. The bank was supported by strong beams. The guard-houses have, this day's journey, given an idea of better accommodation to their inmates. We continued our journey all night, and passed Kou-yoo; the bank towards the lake, even when of considerable breadth, still being uncultivated, the few who were awake described a pagoda and other buildings at Kou-yoo.

10th of October.—The lake still on our right. After breakfast the terra firma was merely the bank, the rest of the country covered with water; facings of stone are still frequent. At twelve o'clock

we reached Shou-poo, a long straggling hamlet, part of which, from the white-washed houses of two stories, and the chimneys, reminded many of European towns. The banks were here steep, the canal being accessible by flights of stone steps.—Three o'clock. We passed Wy-ya-poo, twenty lees from Yan-choo-foo, to which we are all looking as a halting place, and as affording an opportunity of making purchases. Near Shou-poo we passed a long wooden bridge thrown over three streams, tributaries to the Yang-tse-kiang. During dinner we observed a stone bridge on our right.

At seven o'clock we reached the suburb of Yang-choo-foo, and learnt, with much disappointment, from our boatmen, that it was Kwang-ta-jin's intention to carry us twenty lees beyond the city, where our new boats were ready to receive us: the darkness prevented us from forming any idea of the city. We were nearly an hour in passing the wall facing the canal, which did not appear of any great height: the principal buildings to be remarked at that hour were the house of the Hoppo, or col-

lector of customs, and a building supported by numerous pillars, brilliantly illuminated; there were some Py-loos, not, however, to be clearly made out at this hour. The houses in the suburbs were of two stories with chimneys, become common in this part of the province. The canal seemed to me to be carried round the town, which must be nearly insulated; on the opposite bank stands the tower or pagoda of Yang-choo-foo, of seven stories, and of nearly the same proportions as that of Lin-tsin: the canal widened considerably after leaving this tower.

11th of October.—After travelling nearly all night, we anchored at Kao-ming-sze, opposite a temple and tower under the special protection of the Emperor. Two hundred priests are maintained on the establishment, and the annual charge on the Imperial treasury is ten thousand dollars. The temple is dedicated to Fo*, of whom

* Fo is usually represented as extremely fat; this may either arise from corpulency being considered a beauty by the Chinese, or from the tradition of his enormous size having required his being cut out of his mother's womb.

there were three colossal figures seated, representing the god in his trine manifestation. The present Fo occupied the centre; his head-dress was a turban, different in that from the other two, who wore something like crowns; immediately before the figure was placed a tablet, bearing an inscription praying for the eternity of the Emperor's happiness. The general plan of this temple was like that of Ning-niang-miao, on a larger scale, but comparatively much out of repair. We were courteously received by the high priest, whose silken robe, cap, and rosary, reminded us of the priests of the Catholic religion; when squatted on a chair, he, to me, much resembled the figure, *en petit*, of the deity he worshipped. Refreshments were handed to us, among which there was nothing remarkable but some yellow balls, with a small preserved fruit inside, supposed to possess, when given by the priests, a peculiar virtue.

This temple is very ancient, and has, till lately, received constant benefactions*

* As there is no religious establishment in China maintained by the public revenue, the temples and priests

from the present dynasty. The steps of the different temples were composed of a coarse species of marble. A small brass figure, representing an old man emaciated in his appearance, was explained to us, as a representation of the Western Fo, after his seclusion in a mountain. This figure bore evident marks of its connexion with India. The apartments of the priests were clean and comfortable. In defiance of the apprehensions expressed for our safety, we ascended the tower; it is of seven stories, and the proportions disagreeable to the eye, the height not being sufficient for the base; each side was thirty feet. Any inconvenience or danger in the ascent was amply repaid by the view: it might be considered a fair specimen of Chinese scenery. The country, though partially irrigated, still gave an idea of luxuriant cultivation; the fields interspersed with woods and clumps of trees, the course of the canal, its different branches, the Yang-

are chiefly supported by voluntary contributions of their respective sects: in the diminution of maintenance consequent upon conversions to Christianity, may be found the cause of the inveterate hostility manifested by the Hoshungs to the Missionaries.

tse-kiang backed by a range of picturesque mountains, three towers in striking situations, the one that of Yang-choo, the other on the celebrated rock of Kin-shan, situated in the river, together with the garden of the temple, laid out in the Chinese style with artificial rocks, were embraced by the eye from different points; and the boats, with their busy inhabitants, gay flags, and the numerous spectators, gave great life to the scene immediately under us.

In the evening Lord Amherst had a visit from Kwang; his object was to ascertain when we should have completed our transshipment, and, if possible, to effect our departure to-morrow: from this attempt, however, he was obliged to desist. Some observations on his change of cap gave him an opportunity of conveying to us an idea of his elevated situation as Chin-chae. He informed us, that before his arrival at Yang-choo-foo, all the Mandarins of the city had put on their winter caps, but on perceiving that he still retained his summer cap, they resumed theirs: on observing this, he had, from courtesy, hastened to

put on his winter cap. It seems that the time of changing the caps in each district is determined by the principal personage. At Pekin the Emperor regulates, and throughout the Empire his representatives.

Mr. Morrison endeavoured, about this time, to collect some information respecting the Jews in Honan, from a Mahometan, the only person whom he had met with acquainted with their existence. The man's knowledge was so confined, that he threw little light upon their actual condition. Their numbers are much diminished. Pere Jozane, in 1704, describes them as paying the usual Chinese honours to the temple of Confucius, the tombs of their ancestors, and to the tablet of the Emperor. Their books did not reach lower than the Pentateuch; they were, however, acquainted with the names of David, Solomon, Ezekiel, and Jesus, the son of Sirach. Their entrance into China took place about two hundred years before the Christian era.

12th of October.—I visited a temple near our anchorage, connected with a small tank, in which are some sacred fish: this

water is also said to be infested with evil spirits; and whatever support the temple receives from donations, is probably derived from the credulity of the neighbourhood upon this point. The priests offered for sale a small pamphlet, explanatory of certain religious terms. It was remarked by some, that the priests had all an idiotic expression of countenance*: to me it seemed rather the consciousness of belonging to a degraded profession.

In the course of a ramble through the rice fields, I entered the house of a miller, attracted by the noise of his machinery; this consisted of a husking mill: the millstones were placed obliquely; the surfaces of both had been jagged, and the upper one was cylindrical. There was a wheel for cleaning the grain, and some fans for winnowing. The miller insisted on my drinking tea, and had the honest heartiness of manner belonging to an English

* The priests are taken from the very lowest classes, and it is scarcely possible to conceive a body more degraded, and, indeed, more deserving of degradation. In their indifference to all the decencies of religion, contrasted with the multitude of their temples and idols, the Chinese exhibit a striking peculiarity of national character.

farmer. On my way back to the boats I stopped at one of the dykes to observe a man in a wicker basket, gathering the seed of the water lily, which is eaten, both raw and boiled, by the Chinese; he used his hands as paddles; and as the basket was shaped not very unlike a junk, he made tolerable way through the water. Machinery is universally employed here to irrigate the rice fields, consisting of a large horizontal wheel with projecting handles, serving as cogs, to which the power is applied; to this wheel an axle is fixed, with two small wheels at each end, the one with trundles catching in the cogs of the larger wheel, and the other with cogs attached to it. The remaining division of the machine is the trough and wooden chain, with flat boards at intervals: this trough is placed at a certain angle in the water, and has a small cogged wheel fixed to its extremity, corresponding to that at the end of the axle: the water is successively raised through each interval, and finally discharged from the elevation of the ground upon which the larger wheel is placed.

13th of October.—Notwithstanding the hue and cry, that was set up in consequence of two of the party proceeding as far on the road to Yang-choo-foo as the Poolin-tze-miao, I effected a visit to the same place, in defiance of twenty soldiers: a little stratagem was necessary to conceal my intention, and this was found in making sundry marches and countermarches through the rice grounds, so that it was impossible for them on my setting out to determine the exact direction of my ramble. The temple was in good repair, and has a large monastery attached to it. The priest readily conducted us through the building. Judging from the size of the hall, and the kitchen utensils, I should suppose the inmates to be very numerous. The idols were more colossal than any I had yet seen: here there was no difference in the head-dress of the three Fo's. In an inner temple I saw a figure of an emaciated old man, whom the priests said represented one of their order who had been canonized. Near the entrance there was a bamboo grove. I should imagine, from

having lately remarked these groves near the temples, that some sacred character belongs to them.

Women are employed in the harvest, particularly reaping the rice. The small town near the anchorage consists principally of houses of entertainment, which just now are crowded with visitors from Yang-choo, attracted by the halting of the foreign wild beasts and their conductors. A report is in circulation of an additional edict, declaring the wishes of the Emperor to treat the embassy on its return with every respect and attention. The governor of the city, who has had the superintendance of the transshipment, has been remarkably kind and attentive, and shewed every disposition to supply horses and facilitate any excursion we might have contemplated: the inflexible jealousy of Kwang, under pretext of anxiety for our safety, rendered his kindness ineffectual.

14th of October.—We left Kao-ming-tze during the night, and steered due south. The wind was high, and the boats lay over very much; they are of a more ship-like construction than the last, being narrower,

and not so loaded with upper works; the accommodation is nearly the same, consisting of two large cabins; they have two masts; their sails of great height, compared to their width.

We first stopped opposite the gardens of Woo-yuen, which, after a little hesitation on the part of the Mandarins, we were allowed to visit. Although now much neglected, they were interesting as a specimen of Chinese gardening. The Chinese are certainly good imitators of nature, and their piles of rocks are not liable to the same ridicule as some modern Gothic ruins in England; indeed they are works of art on so great a scale that they may well bear a rivalship with the original. The buildings are spread over the grounds without any attention to effect being produced by their exterior, unconnected with the scenery; the object seems to be to furnish pretexts for excursions within the inclosure, which is so disposed as to appear more extensive than it really is. Much labour has been expended upon the walks, which in places resemble mosaic work. These gardens were a favourite resort of Kien-lung, whose dining-

room and study were shewn to us; in the latter was a black marble slab, with a poem inscribed upon it, composed by his Majesty in praise of the garden. The characters were particularly well executed. The trees in the garden were chiefly the olea fragrans, and some planes.

We continued our journey after breakfast till we reached Kwa-choo, where we anchored, it not being practicable to proceed on the Yang-tse-kiang till the wind becomes favourable. The great object of attraction in the neighbourhood is the Kin-shan, or golden mountain, insulated in the river. There is a tower and other buildings on the island. The situation at the entrance of the bay, where stands the town of Ching-kiang-shien, renders it a very striking object. There were some tents or buildings on a neighbouring mountain, said to be quarters for Tartar soldiers. Ranges of granitic mountains stretch nearly from the head of the bay, as far as the eye can reach along it. The Yang-tse-kiang here much surpasses the Yellow river in the expanse of its waters. A picturesque rock near Kin-shan is called the Yin-shan,

or silver mountain. The absurd jealousy and unaccommodating disposition of the Chin-chae have decided against our visiting these islands: they are fortunately so near that it has been impossible for him to deprive us of the contemplation of this truly beautiful scene: the distance from the bank to the island is not more than half a mile. Two navigable cuts branch off from the Yang-tse-kiang and join at Nan-kin. The course to Sou-choo-foo is probably through the mountains forming the bay.

A short ramble this day in the suburbs has surprised me, by the extent of the city, which, from the state of the walls, and the general air of desolation on the opposite side, I had supposed to be almost deserted.

15th of October.—I crossed the canal to-day, and had a long ramble through the fields, to the great annoyance of the attending soldiers. We endeavoured in vain to persuade some Mandarins at a military post on the bank of the Yang-tse-kiang to procure us a boat to cross over to the island: their orders were too posi-

tive, and the request excited so much suspicion as to induce one of them to follow us the rest of our walk.

The continuance of the unfavourable wind has called forth the devotion of the Chinese, who have been busy in the propitiatory sacrifices at the temples of the deity presiding over the winds and sea, near our anchorage; the latter has frequently something like a junk in his hand. Chinese mythology depends so much upon mere locality, that it is not easy to combine the different objects of worship into any general system, that might in its exposition embrace them all. They have imported Budhism, with its Shanscrit terms, from India, without, however, I believe, either understanding their meaning, or the principles of the belief.

16th of October.—By crossing the branch of the canal near a bridge above our anchorage, I got within the walls of the city of Kwa-choo, which contains several streets well inhabited, and furnished with numerous shops: the city is intersected and partially insulated by a

canal* passing under the walls, over which bridges of a single arch are thrown; these, with the exception of one, are of stone: the sides of some were adorned with tolerable sculptures. Kwa-choo has every appearance of having been a place of importance, and is still very interesting from a picturesque blending of complete desolation with bustling activity. A large portion of the ground within the walls is covered with tombs: indeed the immediate vicinity of this city is remarkable for the frequency of burying grounds with groves of the arbor vitæ † tree near them. We were particularly struck in the city with the good complexions of the women, and their approach to our notions of beauty. Ours is, however, but a hasty glimpse of their charms, as the soldiers are most active in enforcing the imperial edict for their seclusion from the eyes of strangers.

The frequent allusion made by the Man-

* This canal was cut to facilitate the Emperor Kang-hi's communication with the Kin-shan, or Golden island.

† Thuja Orientalis.

darins in conversation with Mr. Morrison to the late favourable edict issued by the Emperor respecting the treatment of the embassy, and their unanimous expression of regret at the sudden dismissal from Yuen-min-yuen, has suggested the idea of Lord Amherst addressing the Emperor, both to renew the direct intercourse with the Chinese government, and to propose the acceptance on his part of the remaining presents. In my opinion the measure is extremely questionable: the capricious violence of the Emperor's character led to our sudden dismissal, possibly under a partial misunderstanding; his cooler reflection has produced an account of the transaction, exculpating both himself and the Embassador: this has been followed by edicts, directing the observance of the dues of hospitality to the embassy during its progress through the Chinese dominions: none of these documents, however, have been officially communicated, nor has any explanation, much less apology, been made for the flagrant insult offered to the Embassador. I would ask, therefore, is the address intended to de-

precate the consequences of any latent resentment in the Emperor's mind? The existence of such a feeling I am inclined to doubt; but even admitting it, I still should consider the proposed measure impolitic, as totally inconsistent with the tone hitherto assumed, and ill calculated, from its submissive character, to produce the desired effect upon the ignorant arrogance of capricious despotism. Or is the address meant to encourage the disposition to repair the wrong committed? That disposition has manifested itself under the operation of silence on our part, a silence which, while it was free from the imputation of being vindictive, was still likely to keep the apprehension of the Chinese government alive to the possible effects of British resentment, at the public rejection of a complimentary embassy: remove the apprehension, and the disposition to reparation may probably cease. The consent to exchange the few presents at Tongchoo was, I think, enough for conciliation; any thing further, with ungenerous minds, might be mistaken for abject submission, if not for positive alarm. Should the ad-

dress be unnoticed, or should the proposed acceptance of presents be rejected, the ground of dignified silence under unprovoked injury would have been lost, the regret of the Emperor for his conduct would have been removed, and an example would be furnished of the facility with which the English are satisfied, for the most serious affront offered to their nation in the person of his Majesty's Embassador.

17th of October.—The wind still continues unfavourable, and here we must remain, not as much to our dissatisfaction as to Kwang's: if the report of the Viceroy waiting for us on the other side be correct, his patience must be nearly exhausted. Another ramble through the city has been my occupation. I could not succeed in fixing upon any article to purchase as a remembrance of Kwa-choo.

Wang, the principal military Mandarin in attendance, having learnt that Lord Amherst wished to see the Chinese archers exercise, ordered a few of them out for his inspection. They shot tolerably well at a target, about the height of a man, using

much gravity and ceremony in handling their bow and arrow: the distance was forty yards. This was followed by a few matchlock men, who kept up a running fire, round a man, upon whom they wheeled and advanced as the pivot. The movements resembled those of light troops, and were not ill executed: they loaded and fired quicker, and with more precision, than was expected from their unmilitary appearance in line. All these evolutions were performed to the beat of a drum. It is not unusual at the military posts to have the places, where each file is to stand, chalked, to secure their keeping equal distances.

Our intercourse with the Mandarins, particularly in exchanging presents, has become more frequent; all below the principal shew no hesitation in accepting whatever is offered to them, a matter of no ordinary gratification to persons in our forlorn situation. Complaints have been made of a trifling dispute between one of the attendants and a Chinese, probably without much foundation. Wang and the

treasurer had some altercation on the subject; the latter asserting that the soldiers who accompany us on our excursions frequently promoted the ill treatment of the inhabitants. There certainly are grounds of complaint against the Chinese soldiers, whom I have myself observed in more than one instance availing themselves of their situation to plunder the peasants. With reference to the proposed address to the Emperor, I had forgotten to mention, that a report has been received of an intended communication from the court on our arrival at Canton. Should this be the case, any address at present would certainly be premature.

18th of October.—We walked round the town, the jealousy of the Chinese having this day barred the entrance. The guards on all the points have been increased, probably in consequence of the alleged disturbance of yesterday. The scenery of the immediate environs towards the Yang-tse-kiang is picturesque. Kwa-choo stands on an island, from which I heard that the name is derived; and the circuit of the

walls is from four to six miles: in some Chinese books it is called a Foo. I observed in the course of my walk several priests with black trencher caps. There is certainly a most striking resemblance between the ecclesiastic garb here and in catholic countries.

END OF VOL. I.

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